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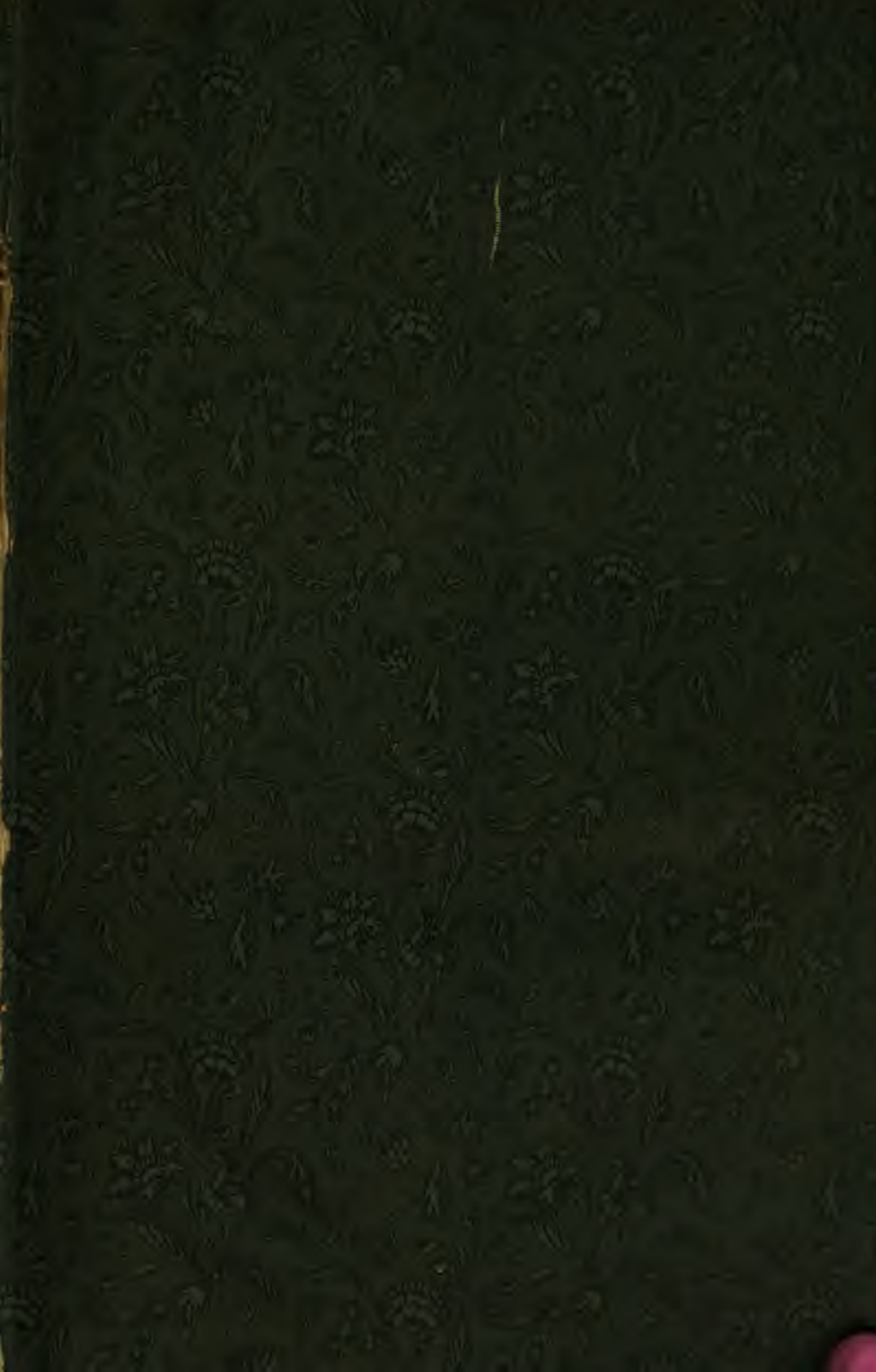
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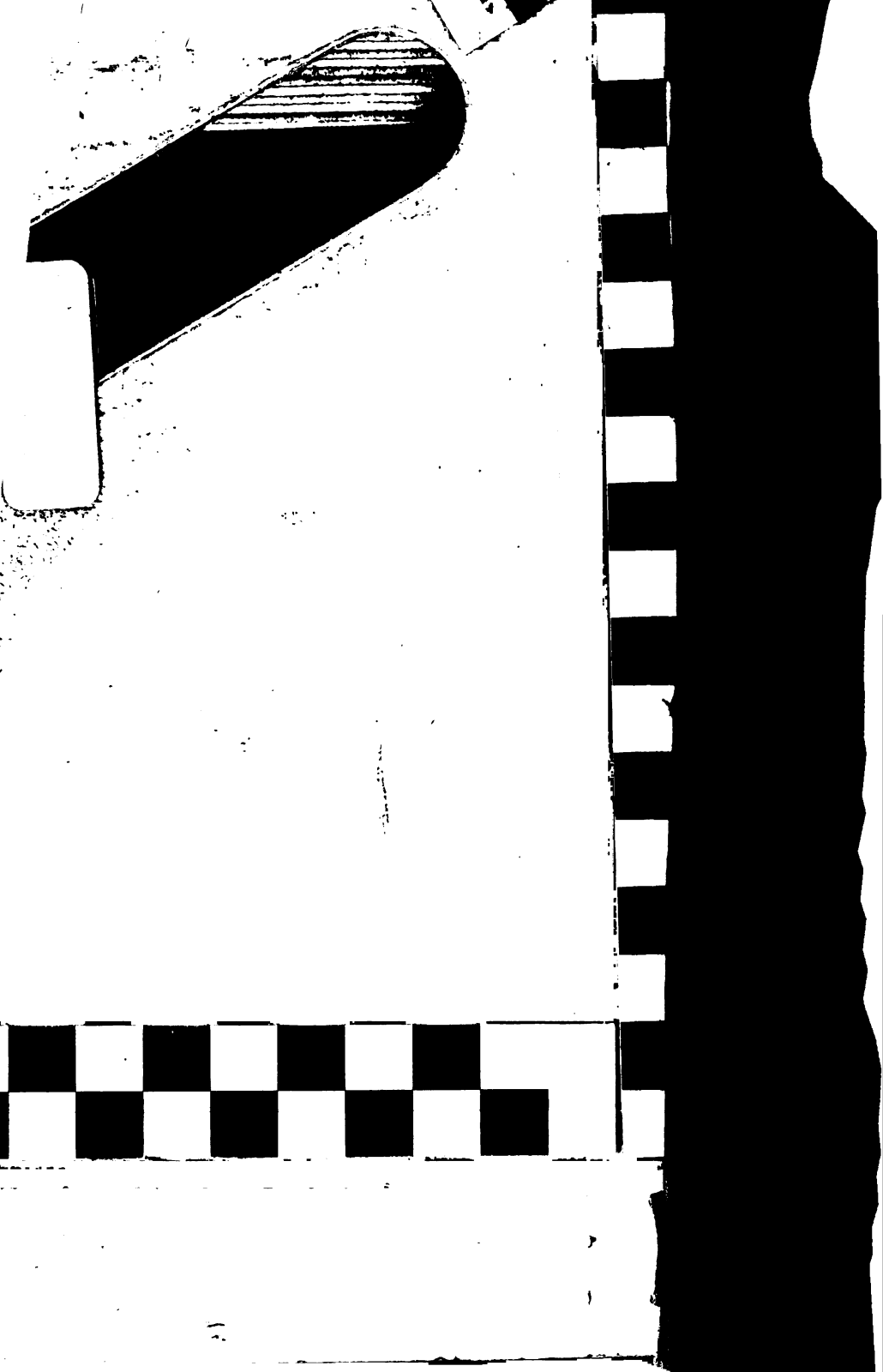
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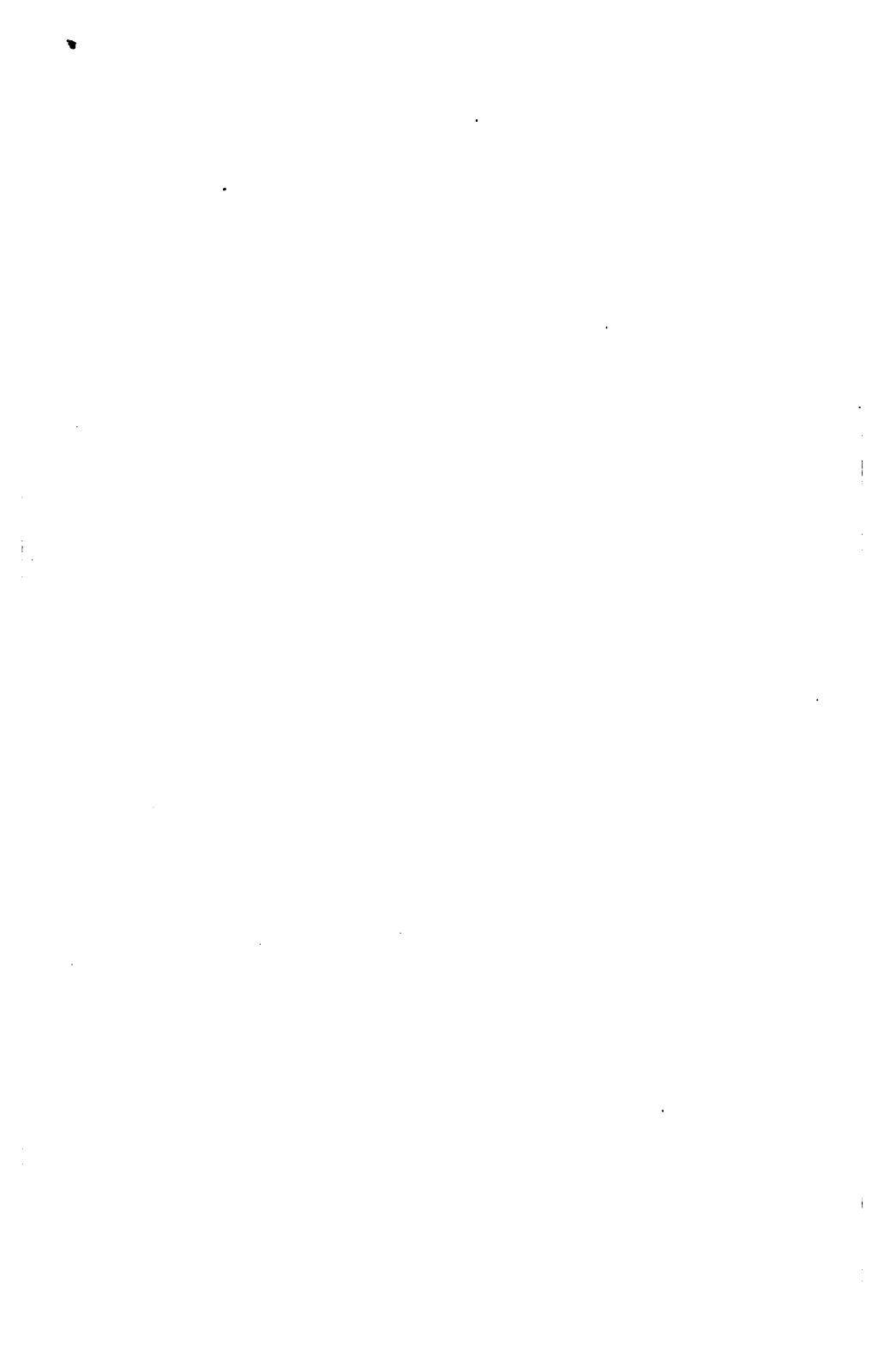




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RUGBY

The School and Neighbourhood.

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED FROM THE WRITINGS

OF THE LATE

MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM, O.R., F.S.A.,

BY THE

REV. W. H. PAYNE SMITH, M.A.

WITH PORTRAIT, ILLUSTRATIONS, AND MEMOIR.

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PREFACE.

ON more than one occasion, in the two or three last years of his life, I suggested to Mr. Bloxam the desirability of collecting together into one volume his various writings on Rugby School and its Neighbourhood. The suggestion was received with kindness and approval, but various causes rendered its realization impossible.

Some time after Mr. Bloxam's death, I communicated with his surviving brother, the Rev. J. R. Bloxam, D.D., and having received his cordial approval and good wishes, set to work, in conjunction with Mr. A. J. Lawrence, to carry out the idea.

Mr. M. H. Bloxam had written, in the course of a long life, a very large number of papers dealing with the School, the Town and the Neighbourhood, and many obituary notices of Old Rugbeians. These, to the number of something like one hundred, were scattered about in *Rugby Magazines*, *Meteors*, *Leaflets*, *Rugby Almanacks*, &c. They stretched over a long period of time, the earliest having appeared in the *Rugby Magazine*, in 1836; the latest in the *Meteors* of 1886. The majority of them were independent of one another, being written from time to time at the request of various persons, editors, or

societies. There were, however, two sets of Articles of a more serial character, one on the Early History and Masters of Rugby School, the other on Roads and Runs round Rugby. It seemed best to adopt these two series as the basis of arrangement, working in other Papers at the most fitting places, and putting several miscellaneous Papers on subjects connected with the School at the end of Part I.

It was only to be expected that in the course of Papers written for so many publications, and at so many different dates, there should be repetitions of the same points, recurrences of the same topics. It was scarcely advisable to reprint these. I have endeavoured to select in each instance the best account, and if there were anything in other accounts of material value, to add it in a note. I have also in a very few instances omitted short passages of merely temporary interest. On the other hand, I have not regarded it as my province to alter or criticise in any way what Mr. Bloxam wrote. With the exceptions just given, and with corrections of obvious slips or misprints, the Papers are as he wrote or uttered them. The note given at the beginning of each, stating its original occasion, will explain many differences of treatment and style. A Paper to be delivered before some grave Society of Archæologists was naturally handled somewhat differently to one to be read to the School Natural History Society; when his words were written for, or spoken to, Rugby boys, Mr. Bloxam never laid aside, even in discussing the most enthralling details of the past, his enthusiastic interest in present friends.

This collection, then, does not profess to be a complete re-issue of all that Mr. Bloxam ever wrote about Rugby. The object kept in view in arranging it has been, to throw into as connected a form as possible the vast mass of information

on the history and traditions of the School and Neighbourhood, which he had published, at various times and in various ways, over a period of fifty years. Scattered about in many publications, they would have remained out of the reach of most people. And it is unlikely that there should arise among us a second man, with such vast stores of antiquarian learning and such devotion to his old School and its neighbourhood.

In an Article on Rugby School, in the *New Quarterly Magazine*, October, 1879, after some three pages of introductory matter, the writer says, "In the history of the School itself, apart from its external growth, there is nothing known that is worth recording till the year 1828, when Dr. Wooll was succeeded by Dr. Arnold." This statement shows a somewhat limited range of vision. Mr. Bloxam, himself one of the most distinguished Rugbeians of that earlier era, spent great part of his life in investigating and recording the history of the School previous to 1828. This book might indeed be called "Præ-Arnoldian Rugby." It will show that there were some things worth recording in that dim and distant past, and will, it is to be hoped, keep alive the memory, not only of the distinguished writer and antiquary, but of other good men and true, who adorned Rugby in her comparatively early days.

The illustrations are mostly reproductions of old prints, &c., dealing with the Rugby of those early days. The books containing them are rare and hard to procure, and they are of such a character as to deserve a new lease of life. Many of the woodcuts are selected from those which appeared in the "Book of Rugby School," 1856.

The pleasant task remains of thanking those whose interest and help have been great. The REV. J. R. BLOXAM, D.D., has

given the greatest encouragement, and much valuable assistance ; R. H. WOOD, Esq., of Rugby, has lent the excellent steel-plate of Mr. Bloxam's portrait ; T. M. LINDSAY, Esq., has given much kind care to the production of the view of Mr. Bloxam's grave ; MR. R. T. SIMPSON, of Rugby, MR. W. G. FRETTON, F.S.A., of Coventry, and others, have given valuable advice and assistance. To all these the Editor and Publisher offer their hearty thanks. They are well aware that with all of them it was a labour of love to assist in a work which may be, in its sphere, some memorial of Mr. Bloxam and of his life-long connection with Rugby.

W. H. PAYNE SMITH.

RUGBY,

Nov. 18, 1889.

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MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM.

IN the Indices to the *Rugby School Register* there are recorded the names of twelve members of the Bloxam family, the father and his six sons, and certain cousins and connections. The Rev. J. R. Bloxam, D.D., has kindly contributed the following account of the family and its connection with Rugby.

“The Bloxams (whose family migrated three centuries ago from Bloxham in Oxfordshire, the cradle of their race, into Gloucestershire,) were always proud of their connection with Rugby, where they had many valuable and kind friends, and especially with the School, to which they were so much indebted. Richard Rouse Bloxam, eldest son of a medical practitioner at Alcester, County of Warwick, was born in 1765, and entered Rugby School under Mr. Stanley Burrough in 1777, and speedily ran away,¹ but returned, and remained there till he was matriculated as a Student of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1782. He took his degree of B.A. in 1787, and became an Under Master of Rugby School in 1790. He resigned this office in 1827, and was appointed to a School Fellowship, which he retained till his death in 1840. He had six sons,² all of whom had reason to be grateful for the advantages conferred upon them as Foundationers, or Charity Boys, of Lawrence Sheriff, whose memory be ever green. One of these went to Winchester College; two³ entered the legal profession; three became Præpostors, and two⁴

¹ See page 141.

² The Rev. R. R. Bloxam married Ann, sister of Sir Thomas Lawrence, the celebrated President of the Royal Academy. In January, 1830, the six sons attended as chief mourners the funeral of Sir Thomas Lawrence, in St. Paul's Cathedral. To Mr. M. H. Bloxam were bequeathed several of the works of the great painter, which were carefully preserved in the house at Rugby, in which his long life was passed, and some of which were given or bequeathed by him to Rugby School.

³ Henry Bloxam, and the subject of this memoir.

⁴ Andrew, and John Rouse, Bloxam.

Exhibitioners, of Rugby School; one⁵ of them gained a Scholarship at Lincoln College, another⁶ a Scholarship at Worcester College, of which he afterwards became Fellow, and a third⁷ became Demy and Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. All the six brothers were presented with "Testimonials of Respect" during their lifetime.

"Their father, who was educated at the School principally under Dr. James, used often to mention that the Doctor at a Horace lesson would bring into School three or four Horaces filled with his own M.S. notes. When a Master under him, he used to attend the supper-parties at the School House on a Sunday, when all the Under Masters appeared. In those days there was one small weekly newspaper from London, and Dr. James would read about a column a day, and put a pin in where he left off. Of Dr. Ingles he told the story, revealed to him by the Doctor himself, that when he went to Lambeth, to have the degree of D.D. conferred upon him, he expected to have to write a Latin Essay, and so took in his great coat pocket a *Selecta a Profanis* to assist him. The Archbishop's Chaplain was very polite, and offered to relieve him of his great coat, which however Mr. Ingles managed to decline, and found it more serviceable to keep it near him.

"I recollect as if it was yesterday standing at the door of the old house (now Mr. Brown's), and watching my father and brother Matthew, as they walked up to the School House on some day at the end of August, 1813, for the latter to be enrolled as a Foundationer of Rugby School.

"In a biographical notice of him in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1883, there are notices of his birth and schoolboy days, evidently contributed by himself:—"Mr. M. H. Bloxam was born at Rugby, in the County of Warwick, on Tuesday, May 12, 1805. He was the fifth son and eighth child of the Rev. Richard Rouse Bloxam, D.D., an Assistant Master of Rugby School. On being

⁵ Thomas Lawrence Bloxam: for many years he had a private school at St. Matthew's Place, Rugby. In 1861 he retired, and dwelt at Leamington till his death, on June 3rd, 1880, at the age of 83. He was the editor of more than one edition of the *Rugby School Register*, also of the *Companion to the Rugby School Register*.

⁶ Andrew Bloxam, well-known as a Naturalist and Botanist; for some years Rector of Harborough Magna; died Feb. 2, 1878, aged 77.

⁷ John Rouse Bloxam, D.D., Vicar of Upper Beeding, Sussex, since 1862; editor of "The Register of Magdalen College, Oxford," &c., &c.

admitted as a Founder, he was placed at first in the lowest Form. He remained for eight years, gradually rising to the Fifth Form, the second in position. During the time he was at school his exercises were generally, if not always, marked *mediocriter*; and if there was an absence of *bene* and *optime*, the same may be said of *male* and *pessime*; so that our young scholar was considered to be a dull, plodding boy, attempting his best. . . . If during the time he was at Rugby School, schoolboys could borrow an edition of Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's Travels, Don Quixote, or the Arabian Nights, they considered themselves most fortunate.'

"In September, 1821, being then a little more than sixteen years and a few months old, Matthew Holbeche Bloxam left School, to be articled to a Solicitor (Mr. George Harris) at Rugby, with whom he remained five years and seven months."

In May, 1827, on the completion of his articles of clerkship, Mr. Bloxam went to London, and a few weeks later was admitted in the Court of Common Law as an Attorney, and in the Court of Chancery as a Solicitor. He immediately commenced practice in his native town, and in 1832 was appointed Clerk to the Justices of the Petty Sessions held in Rugby. This office he held for 40 years, resigning it in 1871. For nine years (1855—1864) he was a member of the Rugby Board of Health, and throughout his life took keen interest in every improvement and extension of the place. During his long public career, he discharged his duties with un-failing energy and industry, and by the kindness and courtesy of his manners and the unsullied honour of his life and character, gained the high respect of all with whom he came in contact.

His public life however was uneventful, nor will it be on his legal work that his permanent fame will rest. His claim to public honour rests securely on his architectural and antiquarian writings, his possession of the affection and admiration of all Rugbeians was based on his life-long devotion to his own old home and School.

Born at Rugby, May 12, 1805, dying at Rugby, April 24, 1888, living almost without a break at Rugby for those 83 years, the son of a Master at the School, the friend of generation after generation of Rugby boys and masters, Matthew Holbeche Bloxam was Rugbeian to the backbone. Nothing delighted him more in his later years than to gather round him a little circle of his friends among the boys in the School, and to recall to them, the folk of

modern times, the Rugby of the far-off past ; to tell them of the terrific combats and Homeric feasts, in which their predecessors, when the century was young, indulged ; to describe the rude methods of football in those days, and the variations at times indulged in of hoops, marbles, and pegtops ; to dwell on the memory of the friends of the past, and especially to tell of such of his contemporaries as were still surviving. Among the various records of the history of the School, few equal in interest the paper which Mr. Bloxam read before the Natural History Society in November, 1883, entitled "Personal Reminiscences of Rugby School as it was in 1813, 70 years ago⁸" ; and that, just for this reason, that they are *personal* reminiscences, and add to the accounts of bricks and mortar, and of general statistics, the more genial touch of the many thoughts and memories stored up in Mr. Bloxam's kindly heart. A reader of that paper must be struck by two characteristics ; one is, that interest in, and prodigious memory for, details of the past, which lay at the foundation of Mr. Bloxam's archæological work ; the other is, that kindly warmth of affection, with which he kept and treasured all that was good in the persons whom he had known in his early years. No schoolmaster could wish for a kinder memory than that which he preserved of Mr. Sleath, who presided over the first form, when Mr. Bloxam entered it in his eighth year, and whose friendship he retained until it fell to his lot many years later to pourtray his life and character in an obituary notice. No schoolboy could wish for a more warmhearted friend than Mr. Bloxam was to his schoolfellows. In Bilton Church is a slab in memory of Edward Hume, who died in 1813, aged 9 years. The lapse of seventy years did not suffice to obliterate his memory from his friend's mind. Mr. Bloxam, so he tells us, never entered Bilton Church without first directing his steps towards that slab, and looking with emotion on the memorial of his youthful, almost his childhood's, friendship. No town could wish for a more diligent and attached historian than Rugby found in Mr. Bloxam. His memory went back to the time, when this was a village, with the postmark of "Rugby, near Dunchurch" ; when the Dunchurch and Hillmorton roads were bordered by fields instead of houses ; when along the unlighted and unpaved streets there were scarcely twenty houses in existence of those which compose the present

⁸ See page 69.

town; when the present School House and Old Big School⁹ were but just completed, and were flanked where the Chapel now stands by sheds and dilapidated barn-like buildings. When we made plans for celebrating the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, Mr. Bloxam could tell us, how in 1809 the School kept the Jubilee of George the Third, and how he saw the School, some 225 in number, on that occasion walking two and two to the Parish Church. When we look out for our telegrams or our daily papers, with news from every quarter of the earth, he could tell us how in those days the school would set out after first lesson to meet the postman on his walk from Dunchurch, and to drag him in triumph in their car, if he brought news of some fresh victory over Napoleon's troops in Spain or France, and to demand a holiday, if the Park and Tower guns in London had been fired in honour of the event.

His knowledge and his interests, however, were by no means confined to one locality. Side by side with his special study of Rugby Town and School, there went on in his life an ever-widening investigation into the antiquarian lore of every part of England. The methods of accurate observation and diligent research, which he learnt and first practised in and round his own home, he gradually extended far and wide. Indeed from his early years it was Archæology and Architecture, rather than the actual work of his profession, which possessed his heart; and though his legal duties were performed with accuracy and care, all the time that he could spare was devoted to archæological research. That which first turned his mind to those studies was a present of old coins made to him while quite a boy,¹⁰ and which afterwards turned

⁹ "It was never called *Big School* in our time, always *Great School*. When the former term came in I know not." (J.R.B.)

¹⁰ Mr. Bloxam began a Paper on "Certain Ancient British, and other Remains, mostly Sepulchral, found in Warwickshire," with the following words:—"When I was at Rugby School, some time between 60 and 70 years ago, a few old coins were given to me, by whom, I do not now recollect. These I considered at the time to be a treasure, as, indeed, to me they eventually proved, by creating and stimulating a taste for the study of Archæology. . . . It was sometime before I, a schoolboy, had an opportunity of showing my treasure to an antiquary, who, by-the-by, was an Old Rugbeian, and asking his opinion as to their value. You may imagine my feelings of mortification, when he cynically pronounced them to be worthless, fit only for the melting pot. Perhaps, if this information had been given to me soon after I had received the coins, I might have desisted from the study of Archæology, which originated with the gift of the coins. Having, however, commenced that study, I was not to be diverted from its continuance, as I had already experienced the truth of that saying of the poet,

"Nor rough, nor barren, are the winding paths
Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers."

Report of the Rugby School N.H.S. for 1884, page 1.

out to be worthless in themselves, though to him worth much in the interest thus aroused in his mind. And in those early days it was not easy to find books to guide the young student in Architecture and Archæology. Rickman, Parker, Pugin and others belong to a later date. But Mr. Bloxam had access to a complete copy of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, containing a series of articles by the late Mr. John Carter on "Architectural Innovations," and to *Essays on Gothic Architecture* by the Rev. Thomas Wharton, and others. These he studied with interest, but the real foundation of his wide knowledge rested not on books but on constant and persevering examination with his own eyes of every building or monument of antiquity within his reach.

It was while still an articled clerk in the Rugby solicitor's office that he commenced these practical observations. He made every old building, camp, or monument, unfold its own story to him. When he had to ride out to some village on business, he always found time to examine the church or other buildings of interest, and to take careful notes of their characteristics. In course of years he extended the same method to every corner of England. In a paper written in 1872 he mentions that he had visited, and taken notes of, more than one thousand churches. By this process he became a deep and boundless mine of knowledge on the subject. In his later years inquiries constantly reached him from all parts of the country as to tombs, monuments, effigies, brasses, &c. And visitors were always welcomed at his house in Rugby, who came to seek for information on points of interest in the neighbourhood. At such times he would pour out his stores of knowledge; with accurate memory, zealous interest and kindly encouragement, he would put aside whatever work he was occupied with, and tell the inquirer everything there was to be told about the subject; usually ending by looking out one of those charming, chatty papers, of which he had written so many, and handing it to the visitor, as a support for memories less tenacious than his own.

The story of his chief work, "The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture," is of high interest, as showing what results may grow from perseverance and devotion to one object. It was published originally in 1829, as a little thin volume of 79 pages, written in the form of question and answer. As the author's observations extended, it grew and grew for a period of more than fifty years. Nine more editions, each one increased

and improved, appeared between 1829 and 1859. There was then a considerable interval, till at length in 1882 appeared the final edition, the eleventh, in three fair volumes, with all the added charm of numerous plates and woodcuts, and embellished especially with a most excellent portrait of the venerable author on his seventy-fifth birthday. This was contributed by his neighbour and friend, R. H. Wood, Esq., of Rugby. The book was the child of Mr. Bloxam's early years, and grew with his growth; every word of it is the result of original work and of his own observations; through it he took a great part in guiding and stimulating the great revival of Gothic Architecture in this country; and it remains as the chief monument of his life-work.

In the last year of his life Mr. Bloxam composed and printed a small pamphlet of 44 pages, entitled "A Fardel of Antiquarian Papers and Books, written wholly, or in conjunction with others, during the leisure hours from professional work, extending over a period of sixty years, from A.D. 1827, to A.D. 1887, by Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, of Rugby, Solicitor." This contains, under 192 heads, a list of the papers written for, and read before, various Antiquarian Societies, published in various Archæological Periodicals, or in papers and magazines connected with Rugby and Rugby School; and further, under 18 heads, a list of the larger works and their various editions, which he had written in whole or part. As the *Fardel* was only printed for private circulation, it will not be uninteresting to reproduce some portion of Mr. Bloxam's own notes and descriptions of his books, and of circumstances connected with their preparation and publication. In connection with the first edition of his chief book, in 1829, then entitled "The Principles of Gothic Architecture, elucidated by question and answer," he writes:—

"This, the first edition, has a preface one page, an introductory chapter nine pages, ten chapters in question and answer, and a concluding chapter on the internal arrangements and decorations of a church, with a short Glossary of architectural terms. It contains twelve woodcuts, besides a few minor diagrams.

"From my boyhood I was fond of antiquarian pursuits, but could meet with few works to gratify my taste. I had, however, access to a copy of the *Gentleman's Magazine* from its commencement.

"In October, 1821, I entered, as one destined to be an articled clerk, the office of a Solicitor at Rugby, and in due course I was sent out occasionally to villages, sometimes at a distance, to examine the registers, or on other business. I then embraced the opportunity of taking, as far as my then knowledge would permit, notes of the village churches I so visited. During the latter part of my clerk-

ship I wrote or compiled in a crude form the manuscript of what was destined to be the first edition of my work on gothic architecture. In 1827 I went up to London previous to being admitted to practice in the Courts of Law and Equity. I took my manuscript with me, and offered it to a firm of publishers on architectural subjects. After a glance, however, my offer was civilly declined, with a suggestion that it might do for one of *Pinnock's Catechisms*, then being issued. I resolved, however, to think no more about its publication. In the following year, 1828, having made the acquaintance of Mr. Thomas Combe, then a well-known and enterprising bookseller at Leicester, the manuscript was casually mentioned in his presence, and the failure in its publication in London, on which he expressed a wish to see it, and on perusal offered to print and publish it at his own risk. To his offer I gladly acceded. The first edition went off slowly, and six years elapsed before a second edition was called for."

It was not till the sixth edition that the form of question and answer was laid aside. There had been considerable gradual expansion in the early editions, especially in the chapter devoted to "The Internal Arrangements and Decoration of a Church," which filled 100 pages in the fourth edition. This chapter was however omitted in the fifth edition, A.D. 1843, for reasons assigned as follows in the preface:—

"As it is a subject about which there is much interest evinced at this time, and one to which it is impossible to do justice in a single chapter, it will be treated on more fully in a separate volume as a companion to this book.' It was not, however, so treated till the tenth edition, published seventeen years after the fifth, the preface of which is dated December 31, 1842."

Of the seventh edition, A.D. 1845, a German translation, by Dr. Emrich Henktnann, with a copious preface, dated 26th November, 1845, was published at Leipzig, C. A. Haendel's Verlag, containing 180 pages and 215 illustrations.

The ninth edition, A.D. 1849, was the last printed by Mr. T. Combe, who had published the three first at Leicester, and the fourth and five following editions at the University Press, Oxford.

"This is the last of the editions printed by my old and much valued friend, Mr. Thomas Combe, Printer to the University of Oxford. His appointment from the Secular to the Biblical side of the University Press occasioned him to relinquish the printing of any further editions. To his taste, practical knowledge, and unerring judgment, the success of this work has, I feel, been deeply owing. Of the nine editions which issued from his press no less than 15,000 copies were published, few of which make their appearance in the catalogues of second-hand booksellers. During the 20 years Mr. Combe was engaged in printing the nine first editions of this work, no word of difference ever passed between him and me.

"This edition of 2,000 or 3,000 copies did not go off so rapidly as the four or five previous editions, as it was ten years before the next subsequent edition was published. In the opinion of some, this may have been partly owing to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill of 1851."

Ten years elapsed before the tenth edition came out, printed at Rugby by Messrs. Crossley and Billington.

"Of this edition the preface, dated May 12, 1859, table of contents, and list of illustrations, take up fourteen pages, the introduction seventeen pages, the first nine chapters, with the divisions into styles, 334 pages; then is inserted a chapter on the internal arrangement of churches previous to the Reformation, 185 pages. A chapter on this subject had been omitted in the five previous editions. Then followed the concluding chapter, one not previously given, on the internal arrangement of churches after the Reformation, 55 pages. The explanation of technical terms and centenary of ancient terms, seven pages, complete the work, forming a total of 501 pages. Owing to the thickness of the book the index was omitted. For this omission I was deservedly found fault with. Considering that 30 years had elapsed since the publication of the first edition, and that the issue of this edition consisted of 2,000 copies, making in all of the various editions 17,000 copies, I looked upon this as the termination of my work on the subject. It was not, however, so to be, but a lapse of 23 years occurred before a subsequent edition made its appearance.

"This, the tenth edition, was exhibited and referred to as evidence in a Chancery suit, *Churton v. Frewen*, *Law Reports, Equity Cases*, vol. II., 1866. In the month of December, 1865, on the recommendation or the suggestion of Sir George Gilbert Scott, I was applied to, and gave, as an expert, evidence on affidavit, on behalf of Defendant in the suit above stated, pending before Vice-Chancellor Kindersley, to ascertain the right to an ancient chapel adjoining the chancel of Icklesham Church, Sussex, on the south side thereof. On the 8th of December I went from London down to Icklesham to examine the church. I found as an adjunct on the south side of the chancel, no unusual position, an ancient chapel, with its piscina and sedile, which appeared to me evidently to have been an ancient chantry chapel. The case was argued before the Vice-Chancellor in July, 1866, and in evidence on behalf of Defendant *Bloxam's Gothic Architecture*, tenth edition, pp. 422—426, and *Bloxam's Monumental Architecture*, p. 178, were referred to; whilst on behalf of Plaintiff reference was made to *Bloxam's Gothic Architecture*, p. 421. On the 7th of July judgment was delivered by Vice-Chancellor Kindersley in favour of Defendant. In the course of the suit extreme difficulty was experienced by both parties in obtaining copies of the tenth edition, the whole of the impression of that edition having been, since its publication, disposed of."

An interval of twenty-three years occurred before the eleventh edition, printed by Mr. A. J. Lawrence, Rugby, was published in 1882. The previous portions of the work, once more enlarged, were now divided into two volumes, and were accompanied by a third volume, entitled "Companion to the Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture. Being a Brief Account of the Vestments in use in the Church prior to, and the changes therein, in and from the reign of Edward VI., &c., &c., &c."

"A copy of this, the eleventh edition, was in the month of February, 1883, transmitted to the Oratory, Birmingham, for the acceptance of his Eminence, Cardinal Newman, as a birthday gift to the Cardinal, from my brother, the Rev. John Rouse Bloxam, D.D., of Beeding Priory, Sussex (sometime Curate to the Cardinal, whilst Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, at Littlemore, near Oxford), and myself. On that occasion I received the following letter in acknowledgment from his Eminence, a letter, I need hardly say, I set the highest value upon.

" Birmingham, Feb. 20, 1883.

" My dear Sir,

" It is a great pleasure to me to receive a standard work from the hands of its author.

" I recollect well its first edition, of which I have a copy. No book has been more successful, or with better reason, in gradually gaining on the estimation of the public. I thank you very much for giving it to me, and that in kind remembrance of my birthday. It will remain in my own room while I live, and, after that, it will be a memorial in our Oratory Library to the next generation of your friendly feeling towards me.

" Very truly yours,

" JOHN H. CARD. NEWMAN.

" M. H. Bloxam, Esq."

This account of his chief work may be closed with some words from a private letter written in 1884:—"My work on Gothic Architecture has been a great solace to me during the greater part of my life. In a pecuniary sense I have not much benefitted by it. But then mine was not a pecuniary object; that was confined to my work in the legal profession. I believe I am now the oldest solicitor in Warwickshire."

It remains, in this connection, to mention two other works by Mr. Bloxam; of which one unfortunately was never completed, while of the other, one edition alone was published. The former was the "*Fragmenta Sepulchralia, a Glimpse at the Sepulchral and Early Monumental Remains of Great Britain.*" The circumstances which led to the abandonment of this work before its completion or publication were thus explained by Mr. Bloxam:—

"This fragment was printed at the University Press, Oxford, between the years 1840—1850. It was never finished in MS., but I was writing it during my leisure hours from professional legal business, which latter at one time pressed upon me. At this period Mr. Combe, of the University Press, having given up the printing of secular works, the first eleven sheets of the intended new edition were transferred to me, and as I could no longer reckon on the assistance of Mr. Combe, who had taken an interest in the work, and as I found from a re-perusal of the three first chapters, that,

owing to more recent discoveries, they would have to be re-written, I determined upon relinquishing the further prosecution of the work. The fourth and fifth chapters of which might, I think, have been given to the public, as containing matter not hitherto brought together in a compendious form."

The other work referred to above, and which has long been out of print, was published in 1834, and was entitled, "A Glimpse at the Monumental Architecture and Sculpture of Great Britain, from the earliest period to the eighteenth century." Of it Mr. Bloxam gives the following notes:—

"This work was reviewed in the *Athenæum* as follows:—'This unpretending but elegant little book is intended to supply the deficiencies of more voluminous works on monumental antiquities, by giving a concise and connected view, and an attempt at some kind of classification of them, and while it is modestly termed 'A Glimpse,' it affords proof of the author's ability to take a full survey of his subject. And with a degree of delight in his subject almost equal to that of Sir Thomas Brown, does Mr. Bloxam dig among the treasures of time which lie in urns and monuments.' This work was also reviewed at some length in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1835.

"It also gave occasion for the following letter, addressed to me by Mr. Thomas Rickman, whose work on gothic architecture and its division into styles proved the foundation of that comprehensive nomenclature we now possess:—

"Birmingham, 3 mo. 6, 1835.

"To Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, Rugby.

"Where anyone has undertaken a task, which, when executed, is useful to the public, although its real labour and its real value is truly appreciable only to a few, I think it is the duty of those few to acknowledge the benefit which is done.' As one of those who can appreciate the labour thee have had in performing it, I beg to thank thee for thy book on ancient monuments. It is a work which has long been wanted to initiate those who, desirous of investigating the various valuable remains of this kind, have had no compendious guide to direct their ideas on the subject, for Gough and many other works on this subject only come in the way of a few persons, and few have time to hunt the details through many not common works.

"Thee have given so clear and concise an account, and in so close and continued a series noting the *gradual* alterations all through, that I cannot but hope that the work will be acceptable to the public, and have, if it have its deserts, a good sale. Having said thus, I hope thee will excuse my wishing thee to discard the very puzzling and absurd term *Florid* in speaking of the latest gothic work; it has never been defined or properly explained by its introducers, and as a term of greater *richness* than *decorated* is not true, for much of the latest work is plainer than the work of an earlier date. If, as I hope, a second edition is called for, I could give thee notices of some more curious and elaborate monuments, and which are diverse from most thee have noticed.

"I do not wish to press my own division of the styles on those who do not wish to receive them, but convinced that they are the only true ones, I do wish that all writers on gothic architecture should use one nomenclature, and not

that the subject should be confused by every man making a division of his, giving new names, and thus rendering the study of our antiquities more difficult than it need be.

"I remain,

"Thine respectfully,

"THOS. RICKMAN.

"I have just published a fourth edition of my work, with some observations on France."

Throughout his long life Mr. Bloxam was constantly engaged on his favourite subjects. The list of his papers and articles extends, as before mentioned, to the number of 192. And while a large proportion of them are connected with his own home and county, and especially with his own school, others cover a very wide range. A considerable number of them are on Churches and Monuments in Wales, and were published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. Mr. Bloxam was indeed connected with some twenty Archaeological Societies in various parts of the country, nor was he a mute member of any of them. He was as ready to contribute to the value and interest of their meetings as they were to avail themselves of his deep knowledge and well-practised observation. And so it came to pass that his writings extended themselves over a wide field—from Lincoln to St. Davids, from Chichester to Carlisle.

The earliest papers which Mr. Bloxam composed with special reference to Rugby were published in 1836 and 1837, in the *Rugby Magazine*, the first of the Rugby School periodicals. These two papers were entitled "Rugby as it was," and "Rugby and its Neighbourhood." They contain short sketches of the larger number of the subjects which in the course of years he dealt with at greater length. For many years he was a frequent contributor to the *Rugby Almanacks*, commenced in 1858 by Mr. Read, and afterwards extended and improved by Mr. J. W. Kenning. In the last ten or twelve years of his life he wrote a large number of articles specially connected with the history of the School for the *Meteor* and the *Leaflet*, while others were from time to time published in the Reports of the Natural History Society.

The circumstances of Mr. Bloxam's life, and his long uninterrupted connection with Rugby, gave him a unique position. His knowledge of the past of Rugby School was only equalled by his love for, and his interest in, its present. His name and fame reached every part of England, but Rugby was the sphere which

he had made peculiarly his own. Of all the honours paid to him he valued most those which he received from representatives of Rugby School. Of all the titles which he had the right to put after his name, he took most delight in the two letters O.R. One who knew him intimately wrote of him as follows in an obituary notice in the *Meteor* :—" Perhaps the most noteworthy feature in Mr. Bloxam's character was, that with all his love for the relics of the past, he combined a keen interest in each generation of boys as they passed through Rugby. Witness the pleasure with which he gave and selected himself a prize to be competed for in the School Athletics by the younger boys, to whom he thought other prizes could not fall. And if, amongst his younger friends he discovered one with an incipient taste for his own lore, with what delight did he encourage and foster it! To such his hospitality knew no bounds of convenience; no Rugby boy ever visited him without a warm welcome, a kindly enquiry about his home, and in most cases a mass of information about his native county. Many are the Rugbeians in various parts of the world in whose hearts this kindly interest inspired a lasting attachment, and who can hardly picture a Rugby without his familiar greeting."

The Bloxam Prizes indeed were for many years quite a feature in the Athletics. It was his custom to come into the Close himself, and with kindly greeting hand over the prizes which he had chosen to the winners. In his last illness, while life was fast ebbing away, he made frequent enquiries as to those who had been in that year successful in his two races, and asked how they had liked the gifts which he had as usual chosen, but which illness had prevented him from giving with his own hands. When after the first stroke in January, 1888, he recovered for a time, one of his first thoughts was a feeling of disappointment at not having been visited as usual by many of the boys; and it was with genuine relief that he learnt that they had only stayed away for fear of disturbing him injuriously in his weakened state of health, and were anxious to visit him at the earliest permissible moment.

One of the portions of the school life with which his figure was most familiarly associated, was the Chapel. Sunday after Sunday, for many years, at the afternoon service, he never failed, when health permitted, to occupy his accustomed place. The Art Museum, again, and the Library, were constant objects of his care. His gifts were frequent and most valuable. In his later years it

was his custom to celebrate his birthday by making some splendid present to some one or other of our collections. He thus enriched the School with an exceedingly large number of most valuable gifts; works of art, books, coins, old weapons and armour, pottery, &c. And, finally, by his Will, an extract from which is given below,¹¹ he bequeathed to the School, besides many similar objects, the splendid library of antiquarian and architectural books, which he had been collecting all his life long.

There remains one portion of the school life, with which Mr. Bloxam was for many years most closely connected, the Natural History Society. It is not, indeed, till the year 1876 that his name appears in the list of Honorary Members of that Society. For the first few years of its existence the Society was confined more particularly to those studies and sciences, which come more accurately under the head of Natural History. Some twelve or fourteen years ago it began to include a wider range of subjects, and added especially Architecture and Archæology to its branches. In this growth Mr. Bloxam took a prominent part. From 1876 to

¹¹ EXTRACT FROM WILL.

"I give and bequeath to the Honourable the Trustees for the time being of the Rugby School Charity, founded by Lawrence Sheriff, provided they will be pleased to accept the same, such of my library of books and manuscripts as they may choose to select, many of which I believe to be scarce, and most of which, I think, are books of reference; with the exception of such as I may by this Will or any codicil or codicils thereto, otherwise specifically bequeath for the purpose of being added to and forming part of the Rugby School Library. And it is my wish, if possible, that the same should be kept distinct, and a printed slip inserted in each volume to the effect that it was my bequest.

"I further give and bequeath to the said Honourable the Trustees of the Rugby School Charity, my collection of antiquities, ancient armour, swords, Greek helmets (five in number), which Greek helmets are now on loan in the Rugby School Art Museum, for the purpose of being placed in the School Art Museum or the Rugby School Natural History Museum, or both or either of them, for the benefit of the said School.

"And I particularly request that neither of the said Greek helmets be on any account parted with, especially the one found by two Old Rugbeians in or near the Tigris.

"I give and bequeath to the Honourable the Trustees of Rugby School, if they will be pleased to accept the same, for the purpose of being placed in the Rugby School Art Museum, the following paintings:—The portrait head, sold to me as that of Lorenzo de Medici, by Andrea del Sarto, hanging against the north wall of my dining-room; two small portraits of a man in armour, and his wife, by Ferdinand Bol, the famous pupil of Rembrandt, whose works they have been taken for, now hanging against the west wall of my dining-room; the painting over the fireplace in my office, 'The Plague of Milan,' and 'St. Carlo Borromeo,' of, I think, the Neapolitan School, and by Spagnoletto, hanging up over the fireplace in my office; the portraits of Sir William Dugdale, by Walker; Sir Richard Steel, by Sir Godfrey Kneller; and Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A., after the original painting of himself, by himself, and copied very carefully by Samuel Howell."

1888, hardly a meeting took place without his attendance, no Report was published without record of frequent papers and many valuable gifts from him. In the Preface to the Report for 1877 are the words: "Mr. M. H. Bloxam has continued to be an attendant at our meetings, to the success of which he has much contributed by papers, anecdotes, and exhibitions. He has also been most bountiful in presenting the Society with various papers and works of his, in giving the Society's Prize himself, and in bearing the expense of the improvements now in progress in the Society's room." From that time, Report after Report bears the same testimony, till he comes to take, naturally, the title of "our old benefactor." The *Fardel of Antiquarian Papers, &c.*, already alluded to, is prefaced by a list of the offices, honorary or otherwise, held by the writer in various Archæological Societies. They are twenty in number. Sixth on the list he records that he is an "Honorary Member of the Rugby School Natural History Society." Nor was this prominent place assigned merely as a piece of playfulness. Those who knew him, or had heard him speak at the Society's meetings, knew well that among all his honours, and amid his connection with many societies of the widest fame, there was none which he valued more than this, and no society in which he took a more keen and constant interest.

It was the same in all his connection with Rugby School. His abundant and oft-repeated generosity found in the affection and kindly gratefulness, with which it was received, an amply satisfying reward. In May, 1885, the members of the Natural History Society sent to him an address of congratulation on the completion of his 80th year. Full of genuine affection, testifying to the linking in him of memories of the past with interests of the present, witnessing of the strong faith in, and thankfulness to, the Divine goodness which had guided his life—real, heartfelt, expressive of the man, were the words of his reply.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN, (*he wrote*)

Before I commence to read my paper in connection with the objects exhibited by me this evening, it falls to my lot shortly to address you, on a matter respecting myself personally: I allude to the fact that on Tuesday last, the 12th of May, I completed my age of 80 years, and in the evening of that day I received from your worthy President a communication signed by himself and the members of your Society, of a most friendly and congratulatory nature. No words can enable me to express the deep feeling of regard I entertain towards all of you. I have, indeed, much reason to be thankful that I have attained an

age which may fairly be considered an old age, with this remark—one not of boasting, but of heartfelt thankfulness to Divine goodness—that I have experienced so little illness during the course of what I may consider a long life, that I cannot recall to remembrance the fact of my having been confined to my bed for a single day. I have now entered into the ranks of those Rugbeians, under a dozen, I think, in number, who may be fairly entitled to be called Old Rugbeians, the age of each of whom exceeds the general limit of human life, the age of fourscore years. Though the youngest at present of that body, I may, in one respect, claim precedence—I have lived in Rugby all my life, and have, consequently, seen successive changes in the School, which other Rugbeians older than myself have not.

I consider myself in some respects as one connecting the past with the present. I have transacted business with a Rugbeian who entered Rugby School in the reign of George II.—127 years ago. I entered Rugby School nigh 72 years ago, and left the School 64 years ago; but whilst I was at Rugby School a retired Master of the School died who was born in 1718, early in the reign of George I., 167 years ago. The Rev. Henry Holyoak was master of Rugby School in the boyhood of that old retired master, and Mr. Holyoak was alive in the lifetime of a nephew of Lawrence Sheriff, the Founder of Rugby School. Now, Lawrence Sheriff died 318 years ago: such is my knowledge of the past.

Lastly, in again returning you thanks in words most inadequately expressive of my feelings towards you for your kindness, I take the liberty of addressing you with a few words of timely exhortation, that in your after-lives you will never forget, but ever retain, a deep and sincere feeling of affection for your good old School at Rugby.

MATTHEW H. BLOXAM.

C. H. Hodges, Esq., President, and the

Members of the Rugby School Natural History Society.

Strong, warm simplicity of heart and life, concentration, almost singleness of aim—these, based on a life-pervading faith in God, were among the most marked points of Mr. Bloxam's character. It was the former especially which endeared him to his friends, the latter by which he made himself so famous in the world of learning. Most of those who may read these words knew him well; it will be long before the memory fades of that simple, single-hearted, kindly, courteous, transparent nature. Nor shall we forget how every interview which we had with him showed us more and more of his intense interest in, and devotion to, the study of the past.

Genius has sometimes been described as plodding. Mr. Bloxam, at all events, was a bright example of the great results to be obtained by perseverance and concentration. He was not one of those who in their boyhood flash up the school like rockets; his progress was slow, step by step won by labour, and indeed he left

school when he was little more than sixteen, at an age at which most have not laid the foundations of learning very deep. But he had grasped two great principles—one, that without knowledge man is little to be accounted of; the other, that knowledge may come slowly, but *does* come at last to those who persevere. “Hearken” (he quoted at the beginning of one paper), “what the philosopher, the Roman philosopher, saith:—‘Every man is naturally desirous of knowledge, and man without knowledge and the remembrance of things past falls into a senseless lethargy, and is no more to be accounted of than as if he had not been born.’” Besides the memories in the hearts of those who knew him, besides the possession of all his gifts, besides the share in his fame and reputation, he has left to Rugby the memory that he was himself a bright example of what he so often impressed on his hearers—one who by concentration of purpose found the pleasant pursuit of the spare moments of his youth turned gradually into the engrossing interest and happiness of his maturer years, and becoming the source of much of the fame and usefulness of his life.

PART I.
THE HISTORY OF RUGBY SCHOOL.



RUGBY FROM THE PLANKS.

PART I. THE HISTORY OF RUGBY SCHOOL.

A BRIEF CHRONICLE OF EVENTS RELATING TO
RUGBY SCHOOL FROM ITS FOUNDATION
IN 1567, TO THE PRESENT YEAR, 1887.*

1510.
1520. **S**OMETIME early in the reign of Henry VIII., between, as it is conjectured, the years 1510 and 1520, Lawrence Sheriff, the Founder of Rugby School, was born at Rugby.
- 1567,
22 July. Lawrence Sheriff executed his will, directing his body to be buried in the Parish Church of Rugby, bequeaths £50. towards the building of a School House at Rugby, leaves his real estate in Warwickshire, vizt., at Rugby and Brownsover, for a Free Grammar School and the maintenance of Almsmen, and leaves £100. for the purchase of land.
- 26 July. Deed. Intent of Lawrence Sheriff, whereby he fixes the salary of the Schoolmaster at £12. per annum, at the present day equivalent to £180.
- 31 August. Lawrence Sheriff executed a Codicil to his Will. By this he revoked the Legacy of £100. left to purchase land, and in lieu left one-third of 24 acres of land in Lamb's Conduit fields, Middlesex, to the School. This ultimately proved to be the great source of income to the School.
- September.
16 September. Lawrence Sheriff died at his house in Newgate Street, London. Lawrence Sheriff buried at Christchurch, Newgate Street, the old Church of the Grey Friars, destroyed in the fire of London in 1666. The register of his burial is still preserved. His direction to be buried at Rugby was disregarded.
- 1688, October 31. Will and Codicil of Lawrence Sheriff proved at London.

* Leaflet, April, 1887.

- 1579,
29 April.
4 May. Mrs. Elizabeth Clarke, widow of Lawrence Sheriff, died.
Mrs. Elizabeth Clarke buried at Christchurch, Newgate Street.
Funeral Certificate granted by the Heralds College.
1579. Birth of John Howkins, posthumous nephew of Lawrence Sheriff, who for many years kept the School in litigation, contesting the estates left to the Rugby School charity.
- Circa
1800.
1802. Richard Seele, first master of the School.
Appointment of 11 Trustees under Decree in Chancery.
- 1802 to
1808. Nicholas Greenhill, second master of the School; died in 1650, 45 years after his resignation.
1805. Augustine Rolfe, third master.
William Greene, fourth master, on whose death, in or about 1642 the Rector and certain of the Inhabitants of Rugby petitioned Francis, Lord Dunsmore, a Trustee of the School, in favour of one Edward Clarke as master, and against Mr. Ralph Pearce. This petition was not complied with.
1842. Ralph Pearce, fifth master, died 1651.
1851. Peter Whitehead, sixth master.
1853. Decree in Chancery on the litigation of John Howkins given in favour of the School, but appealed against.
Christopher Harvey, Vicar of Clifton-on-Dunsmore, the Christian Poet, whose name is associated with that of George Herbert, of Bemerton, appointed a Trustee of Rugby School.
1867. John Allen, seventh master, died in 1669.
Final Judgment in favour of the School given, on the litigation of John Howkins.
1868. Knightly Harrison, eighth master.
1875. Robert Ashbridge, ninth master, commenced the Rugby School Register in 1675.
1881. Leonard Jeacock, tenth master, died in 1687.
1896. Partition of Lamb's Conduit fields, and building Lease granted of the Rugby School Middlesex property.
1897. Henry Holyoake, eleventh master, elected on the death of Leonard Jeacock; he was one of the four chaplains of Magdalen College, Oxford, who, in common with the President and Fellows of that College, refusing to submit to the mandate of James the Second was ejected from his office, to which, however, in 1688, he was formally re-admitted, but having in the interim been elected Master of Rugby School, he relinquished his office as chaplain, and continued Master of Rugby School for 44 years, dying in harness. By his will made shortly before his death he left his books to the School. These were carefully kept in the custody of successive masters till within the last 30 years, when they disappeared.
1895. Thomas Carte, the English Historian, native of Clifton-on-Dunsmore, entered at Rugby School.
1700. Edward Cave, projector of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, entered at Rugby School.
1731. John Plomer, twelfth master.
1742. Thomas Crossfield, thirteenth master, elected on a wonderful reputation, bringing with him no less than 50 boarders, for most of whom accommodation had to be found in the Town, hence the

origin of boarding houses. His untimely death, when he had been but a brief two years as master, took away the hope of a distinguished career.

1744. William Knail, D.D., fourteenth master, during his mastership several events of importance happened to the School.

1748. Sir Ralph Abercromby entered Rugby School. In 1801 he commanded the English army at the battle of Alexandria in Egypt, in which he was mortally wounded.

1748. The first Act of Parliament passed relating to Rugby School.

1749. Purchase of the Manor house and eight acres of land at Rugby, for the new dwelling house of the master, and the site of a new School room.

1750. Removal of the School to its new site. Financial condition of the Charity very unsatisfactory.

1751. Joseph Richmond, fifteenth master. During his mastership no entries were made in the Rugby School Register book. He resigned the mastership in 1755, and died in 1816, 61 years after his resignation.

1755. Stanley Burrough, sixteenth master. He presided over the School as master 23 years. His resignation took place in 1778, and his death took place in 1807. The average number of boys at the School during his mastership was 80.

1774. On the enclosure of the open fields of Rugby, 8 acres of land, adjoining the School property on the south, were allotted to the School in lieu of two cottage commons or rights of pasturage belonging to the School.

1777. The most important Act of Parliament relating to the School as the "Free Grammar School of Lawrence Sheriff," passed, on the eve of the Leases of the Middlesex property falling in, and the income of the Rugby School Charity increasing. By this Act provision was made for the salaries of Assistant Masters. Exhibitions were founded, and rules and regulations affecting the governance of the School set forth. From henceforth the staff of the School consisted of a Head Master and Assistant Masters.

1778. Thomas James, D.D., seventeenth master, first Headmaster. The new Regime may be said now to commence, and Rugby School to be considered as one of the Public Schools. By a list in 1779, it appears that the number of scholars was 80, by a list in 1790 the number was 240. Dr. James resigned the headmastership in 1794.

1779. New Schoolroom built adjoining that erected in 1750.

Bath built some yards north of the present bath, of small dimensions, a plunging bath only.

During Dr. James' headmastership, the barn buildings adjoining the Dunchurch Road, and which appear in the engraved view of the School buildings delineated by Mr. Edward Pretty, in 1809, were fitted up as additional schoolrooms.

1783. Walter Savage Landor entered Rugby School. He died in 1864, aged 90. Many anecdotes of his schoolboy days at Rugby are contained in Forster's biography.

Samuel Butler entered Rugby School. Headmaster of the Grammar School, Shrewsbury, and subsequently Bishop of Lich-

field. Unsuccessful candidate for the headmastership of Rugby School in 1807. He wrote the epitaph for Dr. James' Monument in the School Chapel.

1794. Henry Ingles, D.D., eighteenth master and second Headmaster.

1803. George Whichcote entered Rugby School. Oldest Rugbeian now living, and oldest General in the army; awarded the Peninsular medal with nine clasps and the Waterloo medal; now in his 93rd year.

William Charles Macready, the eminent Tragedian, entered Rugby School.

1807. John Wooll, D.D., nineteenth master, and third Headmaster.

1808. Mr. Samuel Wyatt, Architect, at the request of the Trustees of the School prepared plans and estimates for re-building the Headmaster's house, with dining hall, studies and dormitory over the latter, the estimates being £9400. Mr. Wyatt died before any alterations were commenced.

1809. Order in Chancery. On Mr. Wyatt's death Mr. Henry Hake-well, Architect, prepared plans and estimates for re-building, not only the School House and offices thereto, but all the Schools, so as to form therewith one uniform and connected range of building, the estimate being £32000.

1809. John Heyrick Macaulay entered Rugby School, subsequently Headmaster of Repton School. Wrote the epitaph for Dr. Wooll's monument in the School Chapel.

1813. New buildings finished at an expense estimated at an additional £6000.

1814. Act of Parliament relating to Rugby School, providing for the erection of a Chapel, the appointment and salary of a Chaplain.

1818. First stone of the Chapel laid by the Headmaster.

1821. Leases of the Middlesex property fell in.

1823. Roundell Palmer entered Rugby School. Some time Lord Chancellor.

1826. Act of Parliament relating to the School. By this retiring Fellowships of not more than £200. per annum each were, at the discretion of the Trustees, allowed to be bestowed on Assistant Masters after a certain period of service. Of these Fellowships the Assistant Masters were deprived under the Public Schools Act, 1868.

1828. Resignation of Dr. Wooll, who retired to Worthing, and died there in 1833. A sculptured monument by Westmacott, defrayed by a subscription raised by his old pupils, was placed in the School Chapel to his memory.

1828. Thomas Arnold, D.D., twentieth master, fourth Headmaster. Early in his mastership the schoolroom over the gate was erected and used as the Sixth Form School and the School library, the books in which were greatly augmented. The books left to the School by the Rev. Henry Holyoake were kept apart. Painted glass was purchased for the windows of the School Chapel, and a portion underneath excavated for burials of masters or boys. Many changes made in the School. Dr. Arnold died suddenly on the 12th June, 1842, on the eve of the summer vacation. Buried in the School Chapel in front of the Communion Table.

1829. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley entered Rugby School. Dean of Westminster, wrote the life of Dr. Arnold.
1831. Henry Watson Fox entered Rugby School. Celebrated for his missionary labour in India.
1836. Richard Assheton Cross entered Rugby School. Sometime Secretary of State for the Home Department. Now Lord Cross.
1837. William Stephen Raikes Hodson entered Rugby School. Commander of Hodson's Horse.
1838. The Railway from London to Birmingham by Rugby opened for traffic, causing a perceptible increase of boys to the School.
1838. John Conington entered Rugby School. Famous classical scholar. Died, 1869.
- Report of the proceedings respecting Rugby School printed.
1840. Hon^{ble}. Edward Henry Stanley entered Rugby School. Now Earl of Derby. Secretary of State in succession of many Government Departments.
1841. William Henry Waddington entered Rugby School. Sometime Ambassador from France to this country.
1842. Archibald Campbell Tait, D.C.L., twenty-first master, fifth Headmaster. Early in his mastership a fund was raised by subscription to commemorate his predecessor, Dr. Arnold. This fund was divided, a portion was laid out in the construction of a Library, over the writing school, called the Arnold Library, and the other portion was expended in a sculptured sepulchral monument. The fund, though large, was insufficient to defray the expenses of both in an appropriate manner, and both were, to a certain degree, marred, the recumbent effigy of Dr. Arnold on the monument being carved in stone instead of being sculptured in marble.
1845. George Joachim Goschen entered Rugby School. Sometime English Ambassador at Constantinople. In 1887 Chancellor of the Exchequer.
1847. Lewis William Cave entered Rugby School. One of the Lord Justices of the High Court of Justice.
1850. Edward Meyrick Goulburn, D.C.L., twenty-second master, sixth Headmaster. Resigned in 1857. During his mastership alterations and additions were made to the School Chapel, and more painted glass introduced. Dr. Goulburn is now Dean of Norwich.*
1850. Charles Synge Christopher Bowen entered Rugby School. Now one of the Lord Chief Justices.
1856. Reginald Hanson entered Rugby School. Now Sir Reginald Hanson, knight, Lord Mayor of London, 1886—1887.
1858. Frederick Temple, D.D., twenty-third master, seventh Headmaster. In his mastership the Chapel was very nearly entirely built, a great portion of the new quadrangle was also built, and the Gymnasium likewise. But the Legacy of Henry Holyoake, some time master, the books he left to the School disappeared. Though of little intrinsic value they might fairly be considered as a reminiscence of one who had served the School faithfully for near half a century. And the question still remains to be

* Dr. Goulburn resigned the Deanery of Norwich in 1889.

answered, by what authority were these books disposed of? They were kept by themselves in the Clock Tower, and were computed by one who had seen them to have occupied five or six shelves. Dr. Temple quitted the School in 1870, on his appointment to the Bishoprick of Exeter. He has since been promoted to the See of London.

1865. The inhabitants of Rugby heard, before a select Committee of the House of Lords, in opposition to a Bill virtually for the confiscation of the Free Grammar School of Lawrence Sheriff.

1867. The Tercentenary of the foundation of the Free Grammar School of Lawrence Sheriff. Considerable subscriptions raised by old Rugbeians for new Schools and buildings.

1868. The Public Schools Act passed, by which with some slight modifications the foundation of the Rugby Free Grammar School was materially injured, and the Act of Parliament enabling the Trustees of the School to grant retiring Fellowships to Assistant Masters after a certain length of service, abrogated.

1870. Henry Hayman, D.D., twenty-fourth master, eighth Headmaster, left the School, to the regret of many friends, in 1874, and was presented by the Prime Minister with a valuable living. During his mastership the newly-erected Chapel was opened.

1874.

THE REV. DR. JEX-BLAKE,

TWENTY-FIFTH MASTER, NINTH HEADMASTER.

In the Rugby School Register, amongst the entrances in August, 1844, the Rev. Dr. Tait, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, being the then Headmaster, occurs the following:—

Jex-Blake, Thomas William, son of T. Jex-Blake, Esq., Doctors' Commons, London, aged 12, Jan. 26.

Dr. Jex-Blake appears to have remained at Rugby School seven years. In 1851 he gained the prize for the Latin poem, the subject being *Saecla Animantūm*; in the same year he also obtained the prize for the English poem, the subject, *Nineveh*.

In 1851 he was elected third Rugby Exhibitioner, and proceeded to University College, Oxford, of which college he was a scholar. His exhibition was for seven years. In 1853 he took a first class in moderations, and in 1855 a first class in classics. In the same year he became Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford. In 1858 he became an Assistant Master of Rugby School, in which position he continued for ten years. He was elected in 1868 Principal of Cheltenham College. Here he continued till 1874, when he was elected to the Headmastership of Rugby School.

By the Act of Parliament relating to Rugby School, passed in 1777, a preference was to be given in the choice of the Master of the Grammar School, to such as, being otherwise duly qualified,

had received their education at the School. This rule was however disregarded, and during the time it was supposed to be in force, a period of about 90 years, no Rugbeian was ever chosen.

On the abrogation of the Act of 1777 the first Headmaster chosen by the New Governing Body was Dr. Jex-Blake, a Rugbeian. Dr. Jex-Blake may also be said to have been the first Assistant Master, subsequently appointed to the Headmastership of the School. The choice in 1750, of the Rev. Joseph Richmond, to succeed to the Rev. Dr. Knail, can hardly be regarded as such; Mr. Richmond was not really a Master on the foundation, but a private Assistant to Dr. Knail, and, as such, paid by him, and not by the Trustees of the School.

In 1858 Dr. Jex-Blake published the result of his lucubrations whilst abroad, in a book entitled "A long vacation in Continental Picture Galleries." In 1876 he published "Life in Faith: Sermons preached at Cheltenham and Rugby." Dr. Jex-Blake has travelled much upon the Continent, and beyond the common beaten track of tourists, having visited Spain and Constantinople.

Without eulogy it may be fairly said that Dr. Jex-Blake, during his Headmastership of Rugby School, has done more, much more indeed, than any previous Headmaster of Rugby School to foster a taste for the fine arts, without in the slightest degree neglecting the perhaps more essential studies of classical literature, and natural science. His bounty has contributed to the Rugby School Art Museum many gifts of value, and of a rarity we do not often meet with in a provincial museum. He truly may be said to have been its founder, and this ought to endear his name to future as well as to present and past Rugbeians.

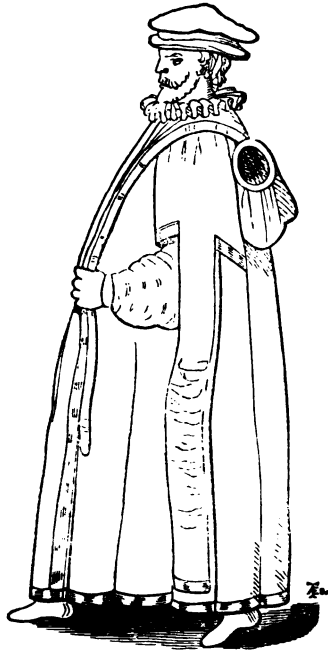
During the Headmastership of Dr. Wooll, Mr. Deane Walker, who was, in the first quarter of the present century, a well-known lecturer at Eton and other Public Schools, used to visit Rugby professionally once every three years, and give a series of lectures, twelve in number, on philosophical subjects and natural science. The apparatus illustrative of each lecture was of the choicest and most costly description, and added to from time to time according to the most recent discoveries. These lectures, both interesting and instructive, were attended by three-fifths of the School. They were discontinued by Dr. Wooll's successor, and their place was not supplied. Without referring to the Rugby School Natural History Society, which may also be considered as a Philosophical Society, papers on several subjects having been prepared and read by members of the Society, whilst at School, Dr. Jex-Blake has from time to time caused lectures to be given on subjects of interest by gentlemen fully competent to deliver them. As for instance, lectures on Greek coinage, electrotypes of which, arranged in chronological order through a long series of ages, have, through the gift or medium of Dr. Jex-Blake, been presented to the School Art Museum, where facilities are given for their study, while the lectures themselves have been published in the Rugby School *Meteor*. Other lectures, equally instructive, have been delivered, and not without their due results. The various exhibitions, both in oil and water colours, both of the old

masters and of the modern School, and other works of art, on loan or gift, are chiefly attributed to Dr. Jex-Blake. No prior Headmaster has been less sparing of his bounty to the School. His costly gift of the Swimming Bath is enough to perpetuate his memory, whilst the sums he has raised to complete the buildings of the School are difficult to bring into estimation. During his Mastership the quadrangle north of the Chapel has been completed, and the New Schools opposite the Headmaster's house constructed. On his retirement from scholastic duties, after years of anxious labour, Dr. Jex-Blake may fairly be permitted, in the natural course of events, to look forward to a further life of some duration, occupied in parochial and other duties. That this is not unreasonable to expect would appear from the length of life former Masters have attained after having left the School. Mr. Nicholas Greenhill, 45 years; the Rev. Joseph Richmond, 61 years; the Rev. Stanley Burrough, 30 years; the Rev. Dr. Tait, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, 32 years; and the Rev. Dr. Goulburn, the present Dean of Norwich, 30 years. That Dr. Jex-Blake may enjoy many years of life yet to come must be the sincere wish of not a few of past and present Rugbeians.



BROWNSOVER CHAPEL BEFORE RESTORATION.

LAWRENCE SHERIFF.



IDEAL PORTRAITURE OF LAWRENCE SHERIFF, IN THE LIVERY OF THE GROCERS' COMPANY, REALISTIC AS TO COSTUME.*

Early in the reign of Henry the Eighth, in what precise year we know not, Lawrence Sheriff, the Founder of the Rugby School Charity, was born in a house opposite the parish church of St. Andrew, Rugby, a little retired from the street, on the site of the easternmost of the present almshouses. His father and mother, whose Christian names are unknown, were probably at that time the principal inhabitants of Rugby; the father, a well-to-do yeoman, a class then of a somewhat higher grade than that we affix to the name in these days. No Lord of the Manor had resided in Rugby for many centuries, and gentry, as a class, were few in number. The suppression of the monasteries, the inmates of which were in most cases pensioned off for life, threw a vast quantity of land into the market, and in the reign of Elizabeth a great accession was made to the numbers of the resident gentry throughout the kingdom. That the father and mother of the Founder of Rugby School were of the highest class of society then resident in Rugby, may be

* *Meteor*, No. 102, June 28, 1876.

inferred from their remains finding a resting place within the parish church, then an edifice of small dimensions. Of the Founder's early life and education we can only speak from inference.

The clergy, either secular or of the numerous monastic and religious orders, were then the chief instructors of youth. It is but a natural surmise that from one of these—most probably one of the monks of Pipewell, a famous Cistercian Abbey in Northamptonshire, resident at Rugby, where they had a Grange, the site of which was in the present School playground, and of which I shall have again to speak—his education was received. The Horn book, some of the publications of Caxton, Wynkyn de Word, Pynson, and other early printers of this country, would have been those perused by him. That he received a grammar education, that he learnt at least the rudiments of the Latin tongue, that he used as his Latin and English dictionary the *Promptorium Parvulorum*—whether of the edition printed by Pynson in 1499, or of Julian Notary, in 1508, or of one of the several editions by Wynkyn de Word, of 1510, 1512, and 1516, may be doubtful—can hardly be questioned. The evidence on these points is, however, inferential, rather than express.

A study of the *abacus*, or arithmetical table divided into squares like a chessboard, on which computations were made by means of those broad, flat and thin counters, familiarly known as jettons, Nuremberg tokens, or abbey pieces, of German extraction, and which are so frequently found on the sites of churches and mediæval structures, was, practically, the study on which his future prosperity depended. When or how he journeyed from Rugby to London, and to whom he was apprenticed, and how he commenced business as a grocer on his own account, are incidents now shrouded in oblivion.

In the reign of Edward the Sixth he appears to have been one of the tradesmen to the Princess Elizabeth (afterwards Queen), the King's sister.

In the household accounts of that Princess in the years 1551-2, under the head of "The Spicerie and Chaundrye,*" occur the following items:—

Lawrence Shreffe, for spice, xj^{li} iiij^s
 Lawrence Sherif, for spice, cxv^s viij^d
 Lawrence Sherif, for spice, xxxij^s
 Lawrence Shrefe, for ne^ccies xvij^s
 Lawrence Shrefe, for spice, xij^{li} xiiij^s v^d
 Lawrence Sheriff, for spice, xv^{li} v^s ix^d ob.
 Lawrence Sheriff, for spice, ix^{li} ix^s jd ob.
 Lawrence Sheriff, for spice, xvj^{li} xvj^s iij^d

In the foregoing account the name is spelt four different ways. The items amount to £73. 13s. 4d., all of which, with the exception of 17s., appear to have been for spices. In "The Request and Suite of a True-hearted Englishman," written by William Cholmeley, Londyner, in the year 1553, the author describes himself as being "a grosser and one that selleth spyces." Lawrence Sheriff might

* Chaundrye, i.e. the Candle department, see the passage referred to in The Camden Miscellany, Vol. II.

have said the same. The amount of spices consumed in the Princess Elizabeth's household appears great, but Stubbs, in his "*Anatomie of Abuses*," published in 1585, observes, "Yea, it is counted but a small matter for a man that can scarcely dispende forty pounde by the yeare, to bestowe against one time ten or twenty pounde thereof in spices."

That Lawrence Sheriff was a prosperous—if not wealthy—like rich Sutton, founder of the Charterhouse—tradesman, dwelling in Newgate Street, London, appears not only from his being a royal tradesman, but also from his having been, shortly before his death, elected Sub-warden of his, the Grocers' Company.

In 1554, after the unsuccessful rising of Wyatt, we find him noticed in the pages of Holinshed and Fox, as defending his royal mistress, then under a cloud on account of her religion, against the calumnies and aspersions of Farrer. This incident took place at the Rose Tavern, at the bottom of Holborn Hill, at no great distance from Newgate Street. In this, the most interesting episode of his life with which we are acquainted, he appears to have been an occasional attendant at the Court, as he mentions what he had seen there.*

* Appended is the account of this incident, as quoted, from Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, in the History of Rugby School, 1816: "Soon after the stir of Wyatt, and the troubles that happened to Queen Mary for that cause, it fortun'd one Robert Farrer, a haberdasher of London, dwelling near to Newgate Market, in a certain morning to be at the Rose Tavern (from whence he was seldom absent), and falling to his common drink, as he was ever accustomed, and having in his company three other companions like himself, it chanced the same time one Lawrence Sheriff, grocer, dwelling also not far from thence, to come into the said tavern, and finding there the said Farrer (to whom of long time he had borne good-will), sat down in the seat to drink with him. And Farrer, being in his full cups, and not having consideration who were present, began to talk at large, and, namely, against the Lady Elizabeth, and said, 'that Jill had been one of the chief doers of this rebellion of Wyatt, and before all be done, she, and all the hereticks her partakers, shall well understand it. Some of them hope that she shall have the crown, but she, and they, I trust, that so hope, shall hop headless, or be fried with faggots, before she come to it.' The aforesaid Lawrence Sheriff, grocer, being then servant to the Lady Elizabeth, and sworn unto her grace, could no longer forbear his old acquaintance and neighbour Farrer, in speaking so irreverently of his mistress, but said unto him, 'Farrer, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee, but hearing of thee that I now hear, I defy thee, and tell thee, I am her grace's sworn servant, and she is a princess, and the daughter of a noble king, and it evil becometh thee to call her a Jill. For thy so saying, I say, thou art a knave, and I will complain on thee.'—'Do thy worst,' said Farrer, 'for that I said I will say again:—' and so Sheriff came from his company. Shortly after, the said Sheriff, taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the commissioners to complain. The which commissioners sat at Bonner's, the Bishop of London's house beside St. Paul's, and there were present, Bonner, then being chief commissioner, the Lord Mordaunt, Sir John Baker, D. Darbyshire, chancellor to the bishop, Dr. Story, Dr. Harpfield, and others. The aforesaid Sheriff, coming before them, declared the manner of the said Farrer's talk against the Lady Elizabeth. Bonner answered, 'Peradventure you took him worse than he meant.'—'Yea, my lord,' said Dr. Story, 'if you knew the man as I do, you would say, there is not a better Catholick, nor an honest man, in the city of London.' 'Well,' said Sheriff, 'my lord, she is my gracious lady and mistress, and it shall not be suffered, that such a varlet, as he is, should call so honourable a princess by the name of a Jill. And I saw yesterday in the court, that my Lord Cardinal Pole,

In 1559, when heraldic honours were held in esteem, he had from the Herald's College a grant of arms, as follows:—

“Azure, on a fesse engrailed between three griffin's heads, erased, or, a fleur-de-lis of the first, between two roses gules. Crest, a lion's paw, erased, or, holding a branch of dates, the fruit of the first in the pods argent, the stalks and leaves vert.”

These arms, and the crest, are engraved, not altogether accurately, in the Reports of the Rugby School Natural History Society. There the lines of the fesse are represented plain and straight, and not, as they ought to be, engrailed.

In 1561 Lawrence Sheriff presented to his royal mistress, Queen Elizabeth, as a new year's gift, “a sugar loaf, a box of ginger, a box of nutmegs, and a pound of cinnamon,” and in return he received from Her Majesty “one gilt salt with a cover, (weighing) 7 oz.”

When or from whom he purchased the Parsonage of Brownsover we know not. Part of the possessions of the abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, at Leicester, it became confiscated on the suppression of that Abbey in 1539. The parsonage was then valued at £8. per annum.

In 1566 he was elected to be Vice-warden of his, the Grocers' Company, the highest honour to which he attained, but his earthly career was coming to a close.

On the 22nd of July, 1567, he executed his Will, in which he describes himself as “sick of body.” On the same day he executed a formal document called his “intent.” In his will he thus provided for his burial:—

“My body to the yearth, whereof it was formed, the which I will shall be decently buried within the parish church of St. Andrew, in Rugby, but the funerall to be first done in the Cittie of London, whereat I will have a learned man to preach the worde of God, and all other things meete to be done, and after that my body to be decently carried to Rugby, and there buried near the bodyes of my father and mother, and y^t there be after a fayre stone layd upon my Grave with a Title thereon declaring the day of my decease, and so forth, as my Executors and Overseers shall think good.”

About a month or five weeks after making his will, he journeys down to Rugby, perhaps on that “*gray ambling nagge*” which by his will he bequeathed to his wife Elizabeth. Here we find him on the 31st of August, 1567, executing a codicil to his will. On this codicil the future fortunes of Rugby School depended. To

meeting her in her chamber of presence, kneeled down on his knees, and kissed her hand. And I also saw, that King Philip, meeting her, made her like obeysance, and that his knee touched the ground. And then methinketh it were too much to suffer such a varlet, as he is, to call her a Jill, and to wish them to hop headless that shall wish her grace to enjoy the possession of the crown, when God shall send it to her as in the right of her inheritance.’—‘Yea? stay there,’ quoth Bonner; ‘when God sendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly,’ said he, ‘the man that spake the words you have reported, meant nothing against the Lady Elizabeth, your mistress, and no more do we. But he, like an honest and zealous man, feareth the alteration of religion, which every good man ought to fear: and therefore,’ said Bonner, ‘good man, go your ways home, and report well of us, and we will send for Farrer, and rebuke him for his rash and indiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like again.’ And thus Sheriff came away.”

him, whilst visiting for the last time his birthplace, opposite the parish church, the graves of his father and mother within the church, and other spots allied to him by old associations, may fitly be applied lines written by the late Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Mansel:—

“ Oft to spots by memory cherished, where his earliest love began,
In his age's desolation, fondly turned the childless man :
Then the quickening drops of kindness through the drooping soul were felt,
From the *home* his youth that nurtured, from the *church* where first he knelt,
Then the long-neglected feelings claimed once more their moving part,
And the pent-up tide of bounty forc'd its passage through the heart.”

We hear of him alive no more. His will was proved on the 31st of October, 1568. Were his wishes as to his burial carried out? Was his body buried at Rugby?

LAWRENCE SHERIFF, *continued*.*

Lawrence Sheriff directed by his will a fair stone to be laid upon his grave in the parish church of Rugby, where he desired to be buried. When the parish church was enlarged in 1830, I was in hopes some discovery might be made of the leiger† stone on the removal of the pews in the south aisle, but the work was carried on without the pews being disturbed, and I was baffled in my attempt at a research. Since that time I have solved the question as to the whereabouts of his burial, and a detailed account of the *modus operandi* may not be uninteresting.

My father, the Reverend Richard Rouse Bloxam, D.D., entered Rugby School in 1777; from thence till the year 1840, when he died, he was in four several capacities—as schoolboy, as exhibitor, as assistant master, as fellow—for 63 consecutive years a member of or connected with Rugby School. He it was who wrote the account of Rugby School which appears in “Carlisle's Endowed Grammar Schools,” published in 1818. He also made researches after the family of the Founder, and on that subject was in correspondence with one in the Herald's College, Mr. Nayler, then York Herald, and subsequently Sir George Nayler, Knight, Garter Principal King at-Arms. I possess a letter written by him to my father, of which the following is a copy:—

“Herald's College, 7th Sept., 1807.

“My dear Sir,—

“As I happen to be in waiting this month, your letter, you see, does not remain long unanswered. I have this day made a general search for the name of *Sheriff*, but, unfortunately, do not find it noticed in any of our visitations. I have, however, found a notice that may possibly lead to something. It's in a funeral certificate of a Mrs. Clarke, in 1579, as follows:—

‘Mrs. Elizabeth Clarke, of Bristow,
Died at her house in London,
29th April, and was buried at
Christchurch, 4th May, 1579.
She married to her first
Husband Lawrence Sheriff,
Esq., and by him had no Issue.’

* *Meteor*, No. 103, July 26, 1876.

† Leiger, or Ledger, a large flat stone, such as is frequently laid over a tomb.

"By the above it appears she was the last wife of a Lawrence Sheriff, but if the same you allude to I cannot at present say, but presume you have an account of his death and his will. It's rather singular that we have not his arms, altho' at that time he is styled Esquire, as appears by the above entry, and have no doubt but his genealogy might be made from the will in the Prerogative Office, and I can add with pleasure I shall be happy to render you any assistance *altho' its not on the score of business*. Any further clue that you can give me may help considerably in the progress of your work, which I confess is to me a wonder it was never done or attempted at before.

"There was a person of the name of Sheriff who was some years ago a Pursuivant, but no Pedigree is here of him, and he had a grant of arms in 1761.

"Best respects to Mrs. Bloxam, and believe me to remain, my dear Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"GEO. NAYLER, York.

"Rev. R. R. Bloxam."

This letter came into my possession on the death of my father, in 1840, and on reading it I at first assumed that the Christchurch mentioned in the funeral certificate of Mrs. Elizabeth Clarke, was the place of that name in Hants. On subsequent consideration it appeared to me that it might be Christchurch, Newgate Street, London, in which street Lawrence Sheriff dwelt, the old church of the Greyfriars destroyed in the great fire of London in 1666. I then deemed it possible that Lawrence Sheriff might have been buried there, but how was I to ascertain the fact? No certificate relative to his burial appeared in the Herald's College, and the introduction of heraldic funeral certificates only commenced in 1567, in which year Lawrence Sheriff died, and they were at first not so general as they subsequently became. Again, it was but natural to suppose that the registers of the Greyfriars church, up to 1666, had been destroyed in that fire. Some years ago, in 1862, whilst in the reading room of the British Museum, waiting for a manuscript of the fourteenth century referred to by Henry Wharton in his "*Anglia Sacra*," I took down from the bookshelves Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*. In that I found, to my great satisfaction, that the old registers of Christchurch, Newgate Street, had not been destroyed, but were still in existence, commencing in 1538, the first year in which parochial registers were, by authority, enjoined to be kept. On the 7th of January, 1864, being then in London with Mr. G. M. Seabroke, whilst going up Newgate Street, and passing by Christchurch, close to Christ's Hospital, I determined to make inquiries after the registers. I accordingly inquired for and found the clerk, and by him I was informed that the earlier registers were not in his possession, and he directed me for further information to the Incumbent of the parish. I then went to his residence and had there a personal interview, but he had not the register I wished to examine, and I was recommended by him to apply to one of the churchwardens, Mr. Cox, a well-known optician in Newgate Street, whom I had known and dealt with for many years, and on informing him of the nature of my visit, he introduced me to a gentleman in his shop who was the other churchwarden. In reply to my application they stated there were some old books belonging to the church, but that nobody could read them. This was a task I readily undertook, and it was then arranged that I should call on the 9th of January, when the register should be produced for my

inspection. I did so, and was again referred to the incumbent. On going to his house I found the old register, and, on an examination of its contents, the object of my research. The entry was as follows :—

“ September, 1567,
The XVI. Daye was buried Mr. Lawrence
Shyryfe.”

This was seventeen days after the date of his codicil executed at Rugby. His body, then, had not been removed to Rugby. Of the day of his death I can find no account. His age was not mentioned ; at that time this was not usual, merely a bare record of his burial.

But as to his funeral? Had Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London, and a great City Undertaker, been alive at the time of the death of the Founder of Rugby School, we should have had in his Diary, which extends from 1550 to 1563, in which year he died, a detailed account. In the absence of this we may infer it to be very similar to one entered in the Diary, as follows :—

“ A.D. 1560. The XXIV. day of Aprell was bered at Sant Magd(alene's), Master Hansley, a Grocer, and he had a dozen skochyons of armes, and ther was the Masturs of the Compene of the Grocers, and prestes and clarkes synging, and Master Juelle, the Bishop of Saylbere did pryche, and he gayff gownes unto pore men ; and there was at ys bereyng all the Masters of [the] Hospetalle, with ther green staffes in ther handes.”

It is more probable than not that Lawrence Sheriff was at this funeral in the livery of his, the Grocers' Company, and that his own funeral was similarly conducted and attended.

In that excessively scarce work entitled “The Procession at the Obsequies of Sir Philip Sydney, Knight, drawn and invented by Thomas Lant, gentleman servant to the said honourable Knight, and engraved on copper by Derich Theodore de Brijon, in the City of London, 1587,” engraved on thirty-four copper plates, the Grocer's Company is represented by numerous figures of members of that Company, attending as mourners at the funeral, in their liveries. Four of these figures I had traced and engraved some years ago, of the same size as the originals. One of the vignettes appeared in the last number of the *Meteor*, the others illustrate this article.* Should there be at a future age any ideal remembrance of the Founder of Rugby School, either as an incised brass or in sculpture, these figures will well serve as representing the official costume of members of the Grocers' Company within twenty years of the death of Lawrence Sheriff.

They appear wearing the “City flat cap” on the head, a ruff round the neck, a long livery gown with hanging sleeves, and the hood, with the liripipe or tail attached, cast over the shoulder.

And now as to his age at his death : we can only form a conjecture from the average age prevalent at or near the time of his

* Only the first of these is now reprinted, (p. 9), the costume in all being the same.

death, and here we may refer to Paynel's translation of that once popular work, the "*Regimen Salutaris Salerni*," or "The Regiment of Helthe," printed by Thomas Berthelet, and published A.D. 1541. In the preface to this work, in treating of the longevity of human life, he observes, "but now a daies, alas, if a man may approach to XL. or LX. yerres, men repute him happye and fortunate. But yet howe manye come thereto?"

The Mr. (Master) prefixed to the entry of the burial implies that the person was of superior station, most of the entries commencing with the Christian name only, without any prefix. The exact spot of his interment cannot, of course, be ascertained. When the old Greyfriar's Church—next to old St. Paul's Cathedral the largest church in the City of London—was burnt in the great fire of London, all the monuments appear to have been destroyed, except such as had been sold and removed on the suppression of the monastery, of which the monument of Chaucer, in Westminster Abbey, was probably one. But his dust is intermingled with that of royal and noble personages, for in this church were buried four Queens, and an infinite number of the nobility and knights. Some portions of the cloisters of the fourteenth century, attached to the old church, are still existing, and within these the worthy Founder of Rugby School must have paced many times.

OF THE WILL OF LAWRENCE SHERIFF, AND OF THE PRIMARY ENDOWMENT OF RUGBY SCHOOL.*

The Will of Lawrence Sheriff, Founder of Rugby School, bears date the two-and-twentieth day of July, 1567. It commences with the simple, though ancient, *Incipitur*, In the name of God, Amen. He describes himself as citizen and grocer, of London; as being sick of body, but of good and perfect remembrance, for which, he says, "thanked be God." Brought up, as he must have been, in the doctrine, ritual, and discipline of the Church, as they were before the reign of Edward the Sixth, he shews that divergence from them, which in his latter years had become very prevalent. He commends his soul into the hands of Jesus Christ, his only Saviour and Redeemer, by the merits of whose bitter death and precious blood-shedding he expresses himself to have sure hope and steadfast belief to be saved. Dwelling in Newgate Street, he had, in the reign of Mary, as we can hardly doubt, witnessed many a sad procession, conducting one or more on the way to a fiery trial in Smithfield. He bequeaths to the Parish Church of St. Andrew, in the town of Rugby—in which church, as I have in a former article observed, he had ordered his remains to be consigned to the grave—the sum of £5., to be bestowed in and upon the making of certain new pews or seats, upon the doors or ends whereof the Grocers' Arms, of London, were to be carved, together with the letters L. and S. And here I may, once for all, observe that the relative value of money in his time was far different to that

* *Meteor*, No. 105, Nov. 1, 1876.

of the present day; that £5. then was equivalent to from £50. to £100. now. And this relative value must be kept in mind in perusing the details of his Will.

He then willed that on the day of his burial at Rugby, an event destined never to take place, £10. should be distributed to the poor people that should repair thither, viz., to every poor man and woman fourpence, and to every child twopence. He then leaves £3. to be employed in the reparation, not the subversion, of the Market Cross there; and directs that there should be a *Vayne* set upon the top thereof, whereon should be the Grocers' Arms of London, and the letters L. S.; and 40s. to be bestowed in the mending of Over (Brownsover) Bridge and Rugby Bridge, to each of them 20s.

A married but childless man, he had two sisters—Agnes, the widow of John Mabbe, of Leicester, and Bridget, the wife of John Howkins; to each of the two sons of his sister Mabbe, whom we may assume to have been well off, as far as worldly prosperity was concerned, he bequeaths 40s. to be bestowed in the making for each of them of a ring whereupon should be set a picture of Death in a winding sheet, a *memento mori* not unusual at that period, "the lively figure of Death." He then gives to his servant and niece, Alice Howkins, £20., and to his servant and niece, Barbara Howkins, £10. He gives to his two other nieces, Helen and Sarah Howkins, £3. 6s. 8d. each. He gives towards the relief of the poor in Christ's Hospital, in the City of London, near to which Hospital he dwelt, £6. 8s. 4d., and towards the relief of the poor in the Hospital of St. Thomas, Southwark, and St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, to either of them £3. 6s. 4d. He gives to the Master, Wardens, and Company of the Grocers of London (one of the great City companies) £13. 6s. 8d., of which he willed that £6. 13s. 4d. should be bestowed upon a recreation to the Company upon the day of his burial (a funeral feast not then unusual), and that the other £6. 13s. 4d. might be employed upon decent hangings or else pewter vessels for the use of the house (Grocers' Hall), whereupon he would that his mark (Merchant's mark) should be set or graven. To each of the two children of Margaret Hallam, the wife of ——— Hallam, of Leicester, he gives 10s. He gives to Elizabeth Honeylove, his servant, 40s. He gives to William Stephenson, his 'prentice, 40s. and a black gown; and to Raffe Gitterne, his 'prentice, a black gown; and to Mary, his maid, 40s. and a black gown; and to Roger Deale, his servant, a black gown and 40s., to amend his wages withal. He then provides for a certain debt for which he was bound to Gabriel, the son of Master Thomas Argall, by a bequest of £20. (This Master Argall is twice mentioned in the Diary of Henry Machyn, first as being present at the funeral on the 5th day of June, 1560, of "Master Husse, sqwyre, and a grett Marchand-Ventorer, and of Muskovea and haburdassher;" and, secondly, on the 16th July, 1563, as being present at the burial of "Master Berre, sqwyre and draper and marchand of the stapull," Sir William Chester being chief mourner and Master Argall next. After the funeral ceremonies there was at each of these burials "a grett dener," or

funeral feast. Master Thomas Argall appears to have been a great friend of Lawrence Sheriff; and was a city man in his day of some importance). And now comes that part of the Will which first relates to the foundation of Rugby School, and which I shall therefore transcribe at length.

"Item. I will that within convenient time after my decease there shall be paid and delivered unto George Harrison, of London, Gent., and Barnard Field, London, Grocer, my deare friends, fifty pounce tow^{ds} the building of a Schoole house and almshouses in Rugbye afs^{de}, according to the tenor of a certayne writinge, bearing date the day of the date hereof, conteyning myne intent in that behalfe. And whereas I, the said Lawrence Sheriffe, by Indenture bearing date the day of the date hereof, have bargained and sold to the said George Harrison and Barnard Field all and singular my lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the County of Warwick, uppon such trusts & to such good purposes as by the writinge aforesaid, conteyning myne intent touching the Schoole house and almshouses afs^d, doth appeare. Now for as much as I doe think that the said lands, tenements, and hdis soe bargained and sold will not be sufficient to the purposes afs^d, I will give and bequeath to the said George Harrison and Barnard Field, the some of one hundred pounce of lawfull English money to purchase therewith some other lands as shall at the least bee of the clear yearly value of fortie five shillings of full English money, the same lands soe to be purchased to bee used and conveyed and assured for the purposes and intents expressed in the said writinge conteyning myne intent as afs^d."

Thus much, for the present, of the property bargained and sold, according to legal phrase, that is actually given for the original foundation of Rugby School and Charity. The founder's house and premises at Rugby, inherited by him from his father, opposite the church, and whereon the eight easternmost almshouses now stand, comprising in the whole an area of one rood and thirty perches, or less than half an acre, formed one part. The remainder consisted of the Rectory or Parsonage of Brownsover, purchased by Lawrence Sheriff after the suppression, in 1539, of the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester. To whom this property was granted by the Crown on the suppression, or from whom it was purchased by the Founder of Rugby School, I have been unable to ascertain. As to the parsonage of "Over," or "Wover," (Brownsover) I find the value of the tythes set out at various times as follows:—In 1477, when the great tythes were set out and received in kind by the Abbot and Canons of St. Mary de Pré, Leicester, they consisted of 7 quarters of wheat, 1 quarter of white corn, 24 quarters of barley, 24 quarters of peas and half a quarter of oats; or, as set down in Charyte's Rentale, in the Bodleian, as follows: Wover. *Fruement, vii quart', Siligo i quart', Ordeum xxxiiij quart', Pise xxxiiij quart', Avene dim quart'*. In 1540 the Parsonage of Brownsover was valued at £8., and in 1567 the annual rental, as I shall hereafter show, was £16. 13s. 4d.; and that, with the mansion house at Rugby for the residence of the the master, and lodgings for four almsmen, was the original endowment of the Rugby School Charity, equivalent perhaps in the present days to some £200. per annum.

* After thus shortly reciting or alluding to his "*Intent*," which I shall presently give in length, the Testator goes on to say:—

"Provided always that if the said Elizth my wife doe within convenient time after my decease release to the said George Harrison and Bernard Field, and their heires, or to the survivor of them and his heires, all her Dower or title of Dower of and in ye premisses so as is afs^d bargained and sold; and alsoe doe convey and assure, or cause to be conveyed and assured to the said George Harrison and Barnard Field, and their heires for ever, to the intent afs^d, land, tenement, and hdits of the s^d cleere yearly value of 45^s., that then the s^d legacy of one hundred Pounds shall be utterly voyd and of none effect, anything herein contained to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding."

We shall subsequently see how this legacy was revoked, and what was substituted in its stead. He then bequeaths to his wife his "gray ambling nagge," his "chayne of gold weighing twenty ounces," and his "gold ring with the picture of death upon it," all which he says "I had at the death of my loveing friend Master Argall." He then ordaynes Elizabeth his wife sole executrix of his Will, and makes his brother-in-law, John Howkins, one of the overseers of the same, giving to his said brother, for his paynes to be taken therein, the sum of fortie pounde', for the which he shall not only help "and aid my s^d. wife as much as in him lyeth, but alsoe the said George Harrison and Barnard Field, specially concerning the building of the Schoole, and other things by them to be done att Rugby; and alsoe I doe ordayne and make my said loveing friend Barnard Field, of London, grocer, to be the other overseer of this my last Will and Testament, desiring him and my friend Master George Harrison that they will doe as much as in them doth lye to see all the contents comprized in the writing before specified (*i.e.* the Intent), concerning the Schoole and other things at Rugby afs^d., to be performed according to my will and desire, even as I have now and always have had my special trust in them." He then bequeaths the residue of all and singular his debts, goods, and chattels, not otherwise by that his last Will given or bequeathed, to Elizabeth his wife, in consideration that she should release all her dower, and title of dower, as aforesaid. He then proceeds as follows:—

"This is the last Will and Testament of me, Lawrence Sheriffe, citizen and grocer, of London, touching and concerning all messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whereof I shall be seized of any estate of inheritance att the time of my decease, in possession, reversion, or remainder: first, Whereas I have bargayned and sould to the said George Harrison and Barnard Field all and singular my messuages, lands, tenem^{ts} and hdits. in the s^d County of Warwick, I doe, by this my last Will and Testament, will, give, and bequeath the same to the said George Harrison and Barnard Field, and their heires for ever, to the use of them and their heires, upon such trust notwithstanding as in the said wrighteing is declared. Item. I will that the said Elizabeth, my wife, shall have for the terme of her natural life all and singular other my lands, tenements, and hereditaments, being freehold, sett and being in the county of Middlesex, or elsewhere within the realme of England; and, after her decease, I will and bequeath one full third part thereof (the whole being divided into three parts) unto the said Bridgett Howkins, my sister, for the terme of her lyfe, and after her decease I will the said third part remayne to the said Helen, Sarah, Barbara, and Alice, daughters of the said Bridgett Howkins, and to the heires of their bodies lawfully begotten; and if it fortune all and every of the said Helen, Sarah, Barbara, and Alice to dye without issue of their and every of their bodies lawfully begotten, then I will the same third part be and remayne to the right heires of the said Bridgett Howkins for ever. Item. I will and bequeath to Anthony Howkins, son of the said Bridgett, and to the

heires of his body lawfully begotten, one other third part of the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments; and for default of such issue, I will the said third part to remayne to Thomas Howkins, brother of the said Anthony, and the heires of his body lawfully begotten, and for default of such issue I will the said third part to remayne to the said Helen, Sarah, Barbara, and Alice, his sisters, and to the heires of their bodies lawfully begotten, and if it fortune all and every of the said Helen, Sarah, Barbara, and Alice, to dy without issue of their bodies lawfully begotten, then I will the remaynder thereof to the right heires of the said Bridgett Howkins for ever. Item. I will and bequeath to the said Thomas Howkins, and to the heires of his body lawfully begotten, the other third part of the said lands, tenements and hereditaments; and for default of such issue, I will the same third part to bee and remayne to the said Anthony, and to the heires of his body lawfully begotten, and for default of such I will the same third part remayne to the said Helen, Sarah, Barbara, and Alice, his sisters, and to the heires of their bodies lawfully begotten; and if it fortune all and every the said Helen, Sarah, Barbara, and Alice, dye without issue of their and every of their bodies lawfully begotten, then I will the remaynder thereof to the right heires of the said Bridgett Howkins for ever. In witnesse whereof I, the said Lawrance Sheriffe, have hereunto sett my hand and seale the day and year first above written, in the presence of those whose names be under written—(By me) Lawrance Sheriffe, grocer—(by me) George Harrison—(by me) Anthony Gregory—(by me) William Hughes—(by me) Barnard Field—(by me) Robert Payne.”

OF THE INTENT OF LAWRENCE SHERIFFE, AND OF THE CODICIL TO HIS WILL.*

THE INTENT OF LAWRENCE SHERIFFE.

“To all Christian people to whom this present writinge shall come to bee seene or read, Lawrance Sheriffe, Citizen and Grocer, of London, George Harrison, of London, Gent., and Bernard Field, Citizen and Grocer, of London, send greetinge in our Lord God Everlasting. Whereas the said Lawrance Sheriffe, by Indre. bearinge date the day of the date hereof for the consideracon therein mentioned, hath bargained and solde to the said George and Bernard, and their heires for ever, All that his psonage. of Brownsover, in the County of Warwick, with all the rights, members, appurtence of the same, and all and singular other the messus., landes, tenemts., and hereditamts. of the said Lawrance, sett, lyinge, or beinge in Rugby, in the said County of Warw., and in Brownsover aforesaid, or in either of them, or elsewhere, in the said County of Warw.; as by the saide Indenture, more playnlye and att large, it doth and may appeare. The confidenc, trust and intent of the said Lawrance Sheriffe neverthelesse is, and att the makeinge of the said indenture was, that the said George and Bernard, and their heirs, should have use and employ, convey, and assure the same to such uses and in such manner and form as is hereafter declared, and to none other use, intent, and purpose; that is to say, the said George and Bernard, or the survivor of them, or their heires or assignes, should, with convenient speede after the decease of the said Lawrance Sheriffe, with the pfitte. of the promises., and with such other smes. of money, as the said Lawrance Sheriffe should give or appoynt by his last will and testament, cause to be builded neare to the messuage or mansion house of the said Lawrance, in Rugby aforesaid, a fayre and convenyent schoole howse, in such sort as to theire discretions shall be thought meete and convenyent; and should also provide or build neare to the said schoole house four meet and distincte lodgings for four poor men, to bee and abyde in accordinge to their good discretions, and should also well and sufficiently prepayre the said messuage or mansion house, which things beinge effectually done, the will and the intent of the said Lawrance Sheriffe was, and is, that the said George and Bernard, or their

* *Meteor*, No. 107, Dec. 20, 1876.

heires or assignes, or some of them, should cause an honest, discrete, and learned man, being a Master of Arts, to be retyened to teach a free Grammar Schoole in the said schoole house: and, further, that, after that, for ever there should be a free Grammar School kept within the said schoole house, to serve chiefly for the children of Rugby and Brownesover aforesaid, and next for such as bee of other places thereunto adjoyneing; and that for ever, an honest, discrete, learned man should be chosen and appointed to teach grammar, freely, in the same schoole, and the same man, yf it may conveniently bee, to bee ever a Mr. of Arts; and, further, the will and intent of the said Lawrence was, and is, the same schoole shall bee for ever called the free schoole of Lawrence Sheriffe, of London, Grocer, and that the schoolemr. thereof, for the time being, shall be termed or called the schoolemaster of Lawrence Sheriffe, of London, Grocer, and that the schoolemaster and his successors for ever shall have the said mansion house, with the appurtence, to dwell in, without anything to be paid therefore; and, further, that the said schoolemr. of the said schoole, for ever, should have yearly for his salary or wages the some of twelve poundes, and over this the will and intent of the said Lawrence was, and is, that for ever in the said foure lodgeings foure poore men should freely have their lodgeing, and should also each of them have, towards their reliefe, seavenpence, by the week, to be weekly paid at Rugby aforesaid, and that of the said foure poore men twoe should ever bee such as had bene inhabitants of Rugby aforesaid, and none other, and the other twoe such as had been inhabitants of Brownesover, and none other; and also, that the said foure poore men should be for ever called the almsmen of Lawrence Sheriffe, of London, Grocer; and further, the will and intent of the said Lawrence was, and is that the Mansyon Howse Schoole Howse, and other lodgeinge should be sufficiently repayred and mayntayned for ever. All which the pmisses. the said L. S. willed and intended to bee borne, paide and pformed. of the Rente and pfite. of the pmisses. so as is aforesaid, bargayned and solde. And over this, his will and desire was, and ys that John Howkins, of Rugby, aforesaid, and Bridgett, his wife, sister of the said Lawrence, during their lives should bee the farmers of the said parsonage, and other the pmisses. in Brownesover aforesaid, for the yearly rent of sixtene poundes, thirteene shilling, four pence, to be by them therefore paide, soe that the said John and Bridgett doe well and substantially during their lives repayre the Buildings thereof, and well and truly pay the said rent, and that after their decease, before any other some such pson. as shall bee of the body of the said John Howkins, and Bridgett, his wife, lawfully begotten, or issuinge, and shall inhabitt in Rugby or Brownesover, af'sd., should be farmer of the said Parsonage, for the said yearly rent of sixteen poundes, thirteen shillings, and four pence, yf such bee that will truly pay the said rent without deley, and well and sufficiently repayre the buildinge of the pmisses. in Brownesover af'sd. And whereas, the said Lawrence Sheriffe, intended by God's Grace in his life tyme, to erect and build the Buildinge and School Howse, af'sd.; and to make or secure some good and substantial devysse, whereby his goode intent aforesaid, may have contynuance for ever, yf it please God to grant him life to pforme. the same; yet, nevertheless, the desyre confydence and trust of the said Lawrance Sheriffe, is that in default thereof, the said George Harrison and Bernard Field, will, of the Rent Revenewes and sumes of money aforesaid, in all respect, substantially, truly and effectually accomplish the same in such wayes, as by the lawes of this Realme may most assuredly bee devysed, and convey and assure the lands, tenements, hereditams, and other, the pmisses. to that only intent and purpose. In witness, whereof the said Lawrance Sheriffe, George Harrison, and Bernard Field have thereunto set their seales the xxvth day of July, in the tenth yeare of the Reign of our most excellent Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, Anno Dni., 1567.

"The true copy of the intent of Lawrance Sheriffe, concerning the Parsonage of Brownesover, which intent was sealed, subscribed and delivered by Lawrance Sheriffe, George Harrison, and Bernard Field, as by the same intent appeareth. Copied the 20th day of December, 1580. E. Harrison."

The intent of Lawrence Sheriff fixes the annual salary of the master at £12. per annum, equivalent, perhaps, at the present day,

to £180. When Dean Colet, in 1559, founded St. Paul's School, London, for 153 scholars, the high master's salary was fixed at £34. 13s. 4d., or 13s. 4d. per week, equivalent to £520. per annum at the present day, and the middle master at half that amount, £17. 6s. 8d., or £260. per annum at the present day, but the population of Rugby at that time was some 350, and the children of such and of Brownsover who claimed to be instructed in such grammar and learning as there set forth, must have been comparatively few. The allowance to each almsman of sevenpence a week, or a penny a day, would be equivalent in the present day to eight shillings and ninepence per week, or fifteenpence a day. I believe at the present time each almsman receives seven shillings a week, a certain allowance of coals, and a cloth gown, of the fashion of the "long side gown," of the reign of Elizabeth, but without the girdle. A similar gown is worn by the scholars of Christ Hospital, but with the girdle.

THE CODICIL OF LAWRENCE SHERIFF.

Some five weeks after the making of his Will, the Founder of Rugby School came down from London to revisit his birth-place, perhaps on that "ambling nag," which, by his will he had bequeathed to his wife, and there made that alteration, which, in after times, affected so greatly the prosperity of the school. For, whereas in the year 1560 he had purchased of John Strete, of Holborn, Vintner, twenty-four acres of land in the outskirts of London, in certain fields called Lambs' Conduit Fields, for £320., and had devised one-third part thereof to his sister Bridgett and her children, he by Codicil materially alters his Will, as will appear:—

"This Codicil or writing, dated in Rugbye, in the County of Warwick, the last day of Augt. Anno. Do. a thousand five hundred three score and seven, with all things thrin containyd, is to be added unto the last Will and Testamt. of me, Laurence Sheriffe, citizen and grocer, of London, whrby alone I doe revoke divers legacies contd. in the sd. will, dated at London, the twoo and twentieth daye of Julye, in the sd. yeare, as followeth. First, whereas in the sd. last Will and Testamt. I. the sd. L. Sheriffe, did give and bequeathe to G. Harrison, of London, gent., and unto B. Field, grocer, of London, the sume of one hundredth pound to such intent as by the sd. will is declared, and alsoe did give and bequeathe unto my sister Bridgett Howkins, of Rugbye, after the decse. of Elizth. my wife, one whole third part of all those, my freehold lands and tenemts. in the Cny. of Middx., to her for term of her life only, and after to her fower dautrs. Helen, Sarah, Barbara, and Alice, as by the sd. will more at large doth appear, the sd. several legacies of the said hundredth pound, and the sd. one whole third part of the sd. lands I doe by these psents utterly revoke and meake frustrate, and by these psents I doe will, give, and bequeathe all the sd. one whole third part of the sd. lands and tenemts. unto the said George and Bernard, to the use of the sd. George and Bernard, and to their hrs. Exors. and Assignes for ever upon such trust and confidence, and to the intent, as I have done my Parsonage at Brounsover, and my house in Rugbye afo'sd, and not otherwise in any wise. Item, I give and bequeath unto the said Bridget my sister, a black gowne and £3. 6s. 8d. in money. Item. Whras. alsoe I have in the former part of my said will given and bequeathed to John Howkins, of Rugby, the sume of fortie pounds, I doe revoke thereof £13. 6s. 8d. and so his legacy to be butt £26. 13s. 4d. and a black coat. Item, I give to the said G. Harrison and to his wife, and to either of them a ring of fyne gold, and to Mrs. Gregory, the wife of Anthony Gregory, one ring of fyne gold. Laurence Sheriffe, grocer: By me, Barnard Field, By me, John Howkins, By me, Anthony Howkins, By me, Ralph Gytzens."

This was the last visit to his native town, for hardly a fortnight had elapsed from the making of his Codicil when his remains were consigned to the grave, in the Grey Friars' Church, London. He may have returned to London either through Hillmorton and Northampton or through Dunchurch and Daventry. If by the latter route, he would have passed in Dunchurch by a house then in the course of construction, still existing, and famous for being the rendezvous of the Gunpowder Conspirators on the night of the eventful fifth of November, 1605.

His Will and Codicil were proved at London, 31st October, 1568, before the Judge, by the oaths of George Harrison, and Elizabeth Lawrence the wife, the Executors.

The revocation of the Legacy of One hundred pounds to the School, to be laid out in land, and the substitution in lieu thereof of land near London, which cost the Founder £106. 13s. 4d., proved afterwards the turning point in the financial prosperity of the School. For a century, however, after the death of the Founder, owing to litigation and untoward events the School funds were at a low ebb, the causes whereof will appear in a future article. With the exception, however, of "the bargain and sale" I have given all the documentary evidence relating to the foundation of Rugby School.

OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF RUGBY SCHOOL.*

Lawrence Sheriffe died in 1567; Elizabeth, his widow, subsequently married a Mr. Clark; she died in 1579. In the same year John Howkins, a posthumous nephew of Lawrence Sheriffe—son of John Howkins and Bridgett, his wife, the latter a sister of Lawrence Sheriffe—was born. This John Howkins lived to an extreme old age, and was buried in the north-east corner of the chancel of the chapel at Brownsover. The following is a copy of the entry of his burial in the register of Brownsover :—

"John Howkins, of South Mims, in the County of Middlesex, gentleman, was buried at Brownsover the 21st day of November, 1678."

In the recent restoration of Brownsover Chapel it became necessary to lower the sepulchral slab which had been raised on Flemish bricks; on removing this slab his remains were discovered, but were not disturbed. They had been deposited in a simple grave, without a brick lining, dug in a moist clayey soil, and the coffin, which was of wood only, was sorely decayed. The lapidary inscription on the slab is as follows :—

"Here lieth ye body of John Howkins, gent., late of ye Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, London, who dyed November ye 16th, in the 99th year of his age, 1678."

At the head of the slab are these arms: vert, a chevron charged with three escallop shells, between three cinquefoils. I cannot find these arms laid down in Berry's "Encyclopedia Heraldica." I have been thus particular in noticing this Mr. Howkins inasmuch

* *Meteor*, No. 108, Feb. 15, 1877.

as for many years he was a great promoter of the litigation which took place respecting the property of the Rugby School Charity, and the disputes which were not finally decided till nearly one hundred years had elapsed after the death of the founder, Lawrence Sheriffe.

The chancel of Brownsover Chapel belongs to the Rugby School Charity, and the east window is, in my opinion, an insertion by Lawrence Sheriffe, in the place of a much earlier window, consisting of a single or triple lancet. The present east window appears to be of that debased style, which became common in the middle of the sixteenth century.

The earliest notice of the School after its foundation, and one not generally known, appears in a document in the State Post Office, without date, but arranged as of the supposed date of 1580. I shall take occasion to remark hereafter on this suppositious date. Of this curious document I shall give the greater portion, omitting such parts only as appear to relate to private scandal. It is thus headed—

“Articles objected before the Lordes and the reste of Her Maties. moste honorable Privy Counsell againste Edwarde Boughton, of Cawston, in the Countie of Warr., Esquire.

“1. Imprimis: He is a boulsterer and mayntainer of evell menn and of evell causes in the cuntrie wheare he dwellethe namelie of Nicholas Greenhell, and others.

“2. Item: He is a favorer of notorious papistes, and he is ioyned in league wth. them, and namelie wth. one Barnarde Ffield.

“3. Item: He is a packer of Juryes, to the pervertinge of Justice and equitie; namelie, aboute the billes of Indictmente against the B. of Coven. and Liche., and his officers.

“4. Item: He is a greate practizer of Indictmentes againste his poore neighbours, and presumethe to put in and oute of the billes of indictment whom he will, himself to serve his own turne, contrarie to the lawe and order.

“5. Item: He is an oppressor of his owne neighbours, and by tyranny and power makethe them to stoupe unto him in all purposes, and if theie will not, troublethe them to theire ondoinges, as of late by indictinge at Warr., and fetchinge upp to the Starr Chamber, or otherwise vexinge and molestinge an hundred women and children, or theare aboute, in the parish of Rugby, wth. oute anie just cause at all, but of meere malice, for that he dothe not favour him in placing _____ to be scoolemaster theare.

“6. Item: . . . 7. Item: . . . 8. Item: . . .

“9. Item: He himselfe, with divers others in his companie, riotouslye and contrary to Justice, hath made a forcible entrie into the schoole of Rugby, in the countie of Warr., and from thence hath removed with stronge hande and displaced one Richard Seele, being quietlie possessed of the same for the space of eightene monethes before.

“10. Item: . . . 11. Item: . . . 12. Item: . . .

“13. Item: . . . 14. Item: . . .

“15. Item: He hath made suche a sturr of late in the countrie where he dwellethe, amongste his poore neighbours by vexinge them at Sessions, Assizes, and in the Starr Chamber, that if the B[ishop] had not appeased their rage, and diswaded them to the contrarie, theare had come up multitudes of his oppression and crueltie.

“16. Item: He is ann obstinate Puritane; dispisethe the order of the booke established by acte of Pliamente, settethe up and maintainethe newe service, new fastes, and suche other like singular divises, or favoreth the same, to the great disturbance of that parte of the dioc. wheare he dwellethe, and the quiet gouernemente of the clergie theare.”

Such are certain of the charges set forth in sixteen articles

against this Mr. Edward Boughton, the *lacunæ* consisting of charges of tyranny, oppression, and cruelty against persons not named, and which, inasmuch as they do not bear upon Rugby School, I have purposely omitted.

The presumed date of this document has been set down as 1580, but this is guesswork, and I think it to be at least twenty years later, and not to refer to that Mr. Edward Boughton, who, through the countenance of Robert, Earl of Leicester—a potent man in Queen Elizabeth's time—bore a great sway in this county, and having gotten materials by pulling down the White Friars' Church, in Coventry, raised a mansion at Causton, A.D. 1585, then considered the most beautiful fabric that then was in all these parts. This Edward Boughton died in 1589, his son Henry died the same year, and was succeeded by his son Edward Boughton, who died in 1642. It is against this second Edward Boughton, of Causton, I would attribute the above articles to have been directed, and the date of them 1600—1602, for Nicholas Greenhill is mentioned in them, and he became Master of the School in 1602, being then twenty-two years only of age. In that year, under a Decree in Chancery, eleven Trustees were appointed. Of these Edward Boughton, of Causton, was not one. It would appear also that at this time the surviving Trustee of Lawrence Sheriffe's foundation, Bernard Field, was living. The regular and continuous history of Rugby School may be said to have commenced in 1602.

ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF RUGBY SCHOOL,

*continued.**

When Sir Andrew Judde, thrice Lord Mayor of London, founded (A.D. 1553) the Free Grammar School of Tonbridge, in Kent, his native town, he endowed it with certain estates, and confided the management thereof, as also of his foundation, to one of the great city companies of London, the Company of Skinners, of which company he was a member. After his death, which took place A.D. 1558, litigation occurred with respect to his endowment, which was attempted to be set aside, and the Skinners' Company expended some £4000. in lawsuits necessary to sustain them as Trustees of his Charity.

In like manner litigation took place after the death of Lawrence Sheriffe, with respect to the endowments of the Rugby School Charity, the descendants of his sister, Bridget Howkins, wife of John Howkins, claiming the Brownsover property as their own, subject only to a rent-charge of £16. 13s. 4d., at which he willed it should be leased to them.

The document subjoined, taken from a manuscript in my possession, written in the latter part of the 17th century, is a brief of the legal proceedings which were carried on during the first half of that century. It contains some curious notices, as that Mr. Raphael Pierce, at one time Master of the School, received in one

* *Meteor*, No. 110, April 2, 1877.

year from the foundation endowment only two shillings and sevenpence, in lieu of the yearly salary of twelve pounds to which he was entitled. It also informs us that the lines of fortification drawn round London in the civil war of the 17th century (A.D. 1643), not, as at Oxford, after the system of Vauban, but straight-lined breastworks, with small forts, batteries, and redoubts at intervals, were carried through the Rugby School property in Lamb's Conduit Fields. A plan of these lines, on a small scale, is given in the nineteenth volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1749. This was somewhat eastward of two batteries and a breastwork, No. 11, at Southampton, afterwards Bedford, House.

The Anthony and John Howkins mentioned in the document were both nephews of Lawrence Sheriffe. Anthony appears to have died in or about 1635-1636, John in 1678. Elias, the son of Anthony, died in 1648, whilst his son William, baptised in 1628, died in 1713. The Jane Howkins mentioned in the proceedings was, I think, the widow of Elias.

Breviate of Legal Proceedings respecting the endowment of the Rugby School Charity.

For the Respondent.

William Howkins }
and } Exceptants.
John Howkins }

Ed. Bromwich
in the place of
Ed. Harrison,
Prosecutor,
deced.

Respondent.

5 April, 1653. Inquisition.—That by Inquisition, at Rugby, it appeared : That Lawrence Sheriffe, deced, being seized in fee of ye Rectory of Brownsover, and a messuage cm ptin* at Rugby, Com. Warr., and of a close of pasture land called Conduit Close in Gray's Inn Field, Com. Middx., containing about 24 acres.

Dat. 22 July. 9 Eliz. Same date.—By deed enrolled, conveyed ye sd Rectory, and all other his lands Com. Warr., to George Harrison and Bernard Field, and their heirs, who by another deed declared the trust and intent thereof to the uses hereafter, viz., that they and their heirs should speedily after Lawrence's death (with the profits and such other moneys as Lawrence should by his will give for that purpose) build near Lawrence's mansion house, in Rugby, a School house and an Almshouse for 4 poor men, and should repaire the mansion house, wch being done, ye will and intent of Lawrence was—

That ye said trustees and their heirs should cause a discreet, learned man (being a Master of Arts) to be schoolmaster, and ye same after that to be a free school for ever, and to serve chiefly for ye children of Rugby and Brownsover, and next, for such as be of other places thereto adjoining, and ye schoolmaster (if conveniently it might) be for ever a Master of Arts. And,

That the schoolmaster and his successors should have ye mansion house to live in gratis, and his salary to be £12. per ann., and ye 4 almesmen to have each 7d. per week, besides their lodgings, whereof 2 to be of Rugby and ye other of Brownsover. And ye said mansion house, schoole, and almeshouses, should be repaired for ever out of ye proffitts of ye sd bargained prmisses. And that John and Bridget Howkins (Lawrence's sister) should be tennants to the sd Rectory during their lives, at £16. 13s. 4d. per ann., they keeping ye prsses. in repair; and after their decease, before any other, some person being of their issue, and that should inhabit in Rugby or Brownsover, should be farmers of ye said Rectory at ye same rent, and repairing ye prsses. at supra. And that Lawrence, by a codicill (20 Oct., 9 Eliz.) annexed to his will, bequeathed to ye said Trustees and their heirs the 3d part of all his lands in Middex., upon ye same Trusts he had done ye same Rectory, and not otherwise, and shortly after

* Occupied.

dyled, and ye said Trustees entered and became seized of the 3d part of Conduit Close ut supra, to them and their heires. And,

That ye said third part of Conduit Close descended to and become vested in Bernard Deckins, who by deed (Dat. 24 Nov., 22 Eliz.,) conveyed ye same to John Vincent and his heires. But Vincent, before such conveyance, had full and apparent notice of ye said Trust, yet nevertheless, by vertue of ye said deed, entered, and took ye profitts to his owne use till ye first Sept., 44 Eliz., when he dyed, leaving Rose, his wife, (to whom by will he devised ye sd third part), and Philadelphia and Anne, his daughters and heires. And

That Rose entered and took ye profitts, and ye Ruecon* descended to ye daughter, and Anne dyled without issue, ye moyety descended to Philadelphia, her sister and heir.

And it farther appeared by ye sd Inquisicon, and otherwise, that by a decree in ye Inquisicon menconed, forasmuch as Bernard Dakin conveyed ye sd 3d part to Vincent, and that Vincent had full notice of ye disposicon thereof to charitable uses, ye sd 3d part by yt decree was vested in Sir Francis Leigh, &c., and their heirs, in trust to the uses appointed by the founder. And,

That shortly after ye decree, one Henry Clarke (4 May, 13 Jac:) had a lease of ye 3rd part, at £10. per ann. rent, and afterwards assigned his interest to Rose Wood, who offering to attorn tennt. to ye Trustees, and release all farther claime thereto other than what she had by the lease, it was, by her and ye school master of Rugby's consent, ordered by this Court that Rose should enjoy the lease only, and convey her other estate to the Trustees.

And afterwards (17 June, 7 Car. s.), by agreemt. between Rose and ye succeeding school master, it was, by consent, ordered by this Cort. that Rose should hold out Clerk's lease, she paying £5. per ann. increase of rent to ye use of the school master and almesmen; but it appeared not that there was ever any conveyance made to ye Trustees of ye lands in Brownsover, or third part of Conduit Close.

That the said Trustees (1 May, 8 Car. 1st) demised ye sd third part to one Pitts, for 31 years, at £20. pr ann. rent. to comence after Clerk's lease, but no fine was given. And,

That John Howkins, by vertue of mesn assignmt., hath for 11 years past, and still doth, receive ye profitts of Conduit Close under Clerk's lease, and hath not during that time paid any part of ye £5. increase of rent, but for about 4 or 5 years together deducted small sumes out of ye said £10. pr ann. reserved on Clerk's lease for pretended damage, sustained by breastworks, at London, drawn thro' the said close, and for taxes out of the said rent.

That the lease of Clerk's is almost expired, and Pitt's lease for 31 years is assigned over to one Blunt, who holds the third said part under John Howkins, and pays him £25. pr ann. rent, and hath soe done for 11 years past.

That Anthony Howkins, being possessed of ye Rectory of Brownsover, about the time of the enclosure there by deed of feoffemt. (about 41 years since. Dat. 7 Dec., 10 Jac.) conveyed to Edwd. Boughton, Esq., deced, and his heirs, all ye glebe lands (save four peices of meadow) belonging to the Rectory, and all tythes within the lordshipp of Brownsover, at ye rent of £28. 17s. 6d. pr ann.; and Edwd. Boughton, in cons. thereof, by deed of feoffemt., conveyed to Anthony, and his heirs, all those lands, meadows, and pasture, esteemed to be one yard land, as then measured, containing about 32 acres and an halfe; and Anthony accordingly entered and enjoyed ye same, reced. £28. 17s. 6d. during his life, and after his death Elias Howkins entered and enjoyed the same for 13 years, ending about 4 years since (about 4 years since Elias dyed); yet neither they nor Elias ever had any lease or grant thereof from ye 12 Trustees, but have claimed ye inheritance, and yt there was only ye rent of £16. 13s. 4d. to issue thereout.

That Jane and Wm. Howkins, upon William's marriage, have made a joynture to his wife of part of ye lands in Brownsover, and executed the deed by livery and seizin, and Wm. ever since hath been in possession by vertue of that deed, and reced. ye profitts, which for above 30 years have been worth 56 pr ann.. and are of farr greater value then before ye inclosure, ye Rectory being before not worth above £32. 17s. 6d. per ann., & since ye rents and lands granted in lieu thereof are worth £56. pr ann.

* Property.

That Raphael Pierce, being before elected by ye surviveing feoffees, was confirmed to be schoolmaster of Rugby, and taught there till his death; but Elias, Jane, and William Howkins, paid not ye £12. pr ann. salary, but detained £11. 17s. 5d. thereof for taxes and quarters, whereby he was much damnified, and Wm. hath not paid him, his relict, nor ye succeeding schoolmaster, £3. for a quarter's salary due at Midsomer, 1651.

That there is due & in arrears to Mr. Whitehead, ye present schoolmaster, and to ye almesmen out of Conduit Close, £26. 5s. od.

That Elias Howkins refused to pay Butler, an almesman put in by ye Trustees, his wages, & did violently, & of his own accord, displace him, and kept his lodgeing for 3 years, & then put in another of his owne chooseing.

That the almesmen's sallary for these 20 years have not been paid according to ye founder's intent; but Elias, Jane, & Wm., have paid them, more or less, as they pleased.

That the mansion house, school, and almshouses, are so ruined that (notwithstanding £4. 7s. 6d. disbursed thereabout by ye prosecutor a year ago) they will take at least £63. 10s. od. to be put in repair.

That for as much as the said Trustees, save Sr Tho. Leigh, are dead, & by reason thereof much neglect in performing ye trust, to the prejudice of the charitable use,

Therefore it is decreed, &c.

ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF RUGBY SCHOOL, CONTINUATION AND CLOSE OF THE LITIGATION.*

Decree dated 16th May, 1653.

Therefore it is decreed that ye inheritance of ye third part of Conduit close and ye Rectory of Brownsover be henceforth vested in Basill Fielding, Tho. Boughton, Tho. Temple, Sr. John Cave, Esqre., and others, and their heirs, to the uses and trusts by the Founder appointed, and by the inquisition annexed found, and when any three trustees die, the survivors to elect 3 more in their stead. And that John Howkins (who enjoyed Conduit close) shall by Michas. next pay ye present feoffees £73. 15s. in respect of ye arrears of 5 p. ann. rent therof, and ye same to be laid out by ye feoffees, as hereafter expressed, and for as much as Elias, Jane, and William Howkins, have enjoyed Brownsover as in their owne right, and have lately made a joynture to Wm's. wife. Inquisition ut Supra whereby ye charitable gift, if not timely prevented, will be destroyed.

Decreed, That ye said William and Mary, his wife, be forthwith outed of ye possession thereof, and that all Deeds and Conveyances thereof made by Jane, William, and Elias Howkins, be void, and that Jane who was admix. to Elias (if she have assetts.) shall by Michas. next pay £511. 6s. 8d. for profits reced. by Elias in his lifetime, and she and Wm. by Michas next pay ye sd. feoffees £157. 6s. 8d. in respect of ye profits of Brownsover by them reced. since Elias's death, more than they or Elias have disbursed towards the charitable use.

And the Trustees to meet and visit the School and Almshouses 4 times a year (that is to say), the first Tuesday in February, the first Tuesday in May, the first Tuesday in August, and the first Tuesday in November, and after they have reced. ye said sewal sumes, they are to pay £59. 17s. 5d. to Joan, relict of Pearce, in lieu of arrears due to him during his time of being schoolmaster, and to Mr. Whitehead (now schoolmaster) and almesmen, £26. 5s., in lieu of arrears, and to ye respondent for and towards his charges, & for his own paines in suing out ye comission and obtaining this decree, £110., & the remainder to goe in repairs of ye mansion house, schoole, and almshouses, which is to be done with all speed, and repay what hath been already laid out in repaires, and the remainder (if any) to be distributed according to the trustees' discretion.

And the Trustees in one of their meetings ye first year to establish such orders concerning the freedom of ye school according to the founder's intent, and

* *Meteor*, No. 111, May 8, 1877.

behaviour of ye schoolmaster, schollars, and almesmen, as shall be ever constantly kept, unless they or ye major part shall find cause to add or alter any thing.

And the feoffees, upon any vacancy of schoolmaster or almesmen, to nominate and admitt new ones, observeing ye founder's rules (if possible), or otherwise, according to their best understanding, & the feoffees to lett the lands, receive rents, & pay sallaries.

And the Trustees are to doe nothing in discharge of their trust privately, but at their public meeting by all or the major part of twelve.

And the lands not to be lett for any term exceeding 7 years, & no future lease till within one year of expiracon of the former, nor under ye greatest rent that can be gott, and good security to be given, and the rents paid quarterly.

And some of the issue of John Howkins and Bridgett, his wife, living in Rugby or Brownsover (if any such be), that will give good security, shall be accepted tennt. before any other, at such rents as ye feoffees shall think fit, and the feoffees to pay ye schoolmaster £3. and the almesmen 7s. 7d., quarterly, & out of ye remainder to defray repairs, and the overplus (necessary charges of meeting deducted, which is not to exceed 20s. p. ann.), to be divided proportionably among ye schoolmaster and almesmen, and during any vacancy ye proportion of his pay to be added to ye remainder of ye rents to be divided.

And if the Trustees find the multitude of schollars to be too great for one man's teaching, they are either themselves to find, or enyoine ye schoolmaster to provide, an usher, or allow him such sallary out of ye overplus of rents, to be provided as they think fit.

And the Trustees to provide a chest, with 4 locks and keys, and ye same not to be opened but at their meetings, and all records determinacones amongst themselves, counterparts of leases, &c., to be kept therein.

And if there be no poor men in Brownsover, then the almshouses to be filled with those of Rugby; but if there be in both, then Rugby and Brownsover joyntly to fill up the almshouses, according to the Will of the founder.

To the above Decree William Howkins, John Howkins, and Jane Howkins, exhibited exceptions, and, as it will appear, prolonged the litigation for another fourteen years.

20 Sept. 1653. Wm. Howkins, John Howkins, & one Jane Howkins, in the Decree menconed, did exhibit diverse excepcons to ye said Decree, to which the respondent answered; but that case was very fully heard in any part until ye 19th July, 1666, when the Lord Chancellor, upon hearing ye case as to the Warwickshire lands, wherein Wm. Howkins was concerned, directed a case to be made and statel; and if the parties differed, then Sir Justinian Lewen, one of the Masters of Chancery, was to settle the same. But as touching the excepcons of John Howkins, as to the Middx. lands, overruled the excepcons, and confirmed the Commissioner's Decree, and decreed the said John Howkins to pay the rents and profitts of the said lands from Michas next after ye decree, for so long time as he enjoyed the same, and to pay costs, all which were to be certified by ye sd. Sr. Justinian Lewen. The Master states the case only upon the Deeds whereby ye Charity was first founded, which are sett forth in ye Inquisition, & leaves out all prooffes of misimployment, and thereupon makes 2 questions:

1st. Whether the exceptant ought to pay £16. 13s. 4d. original rent only, or according to the improved value.

2nd. Whether the exceptant is bound to ye repair of all ye prsses. in Rugby and Brownsover, or of ye buildings of ye prsses. in Brownsover only, to which case the exceptant took excepcons, for that ye master had not taken any notice of 2 decrees formerly made, the first 44 Eliz., the other 12 Jac., whereupon the respondent petitioned to have the prooffes heard.

26th Nov. 1667. The said case upon the excepcons and prooffes standing in the paper by the Rt. Honble. Sr. Orlando Bridgeman, Knt. & Barrt., Lord Keeper of ye Great Seal of England, his lordshipp declared that the Commissioners Decree which had vested the Rectory mansion house and prsses. in

Rugby and Brownsover in the Trustees, and alsoe enjoyned the exceptant to the repair of the whole to be just, for that the said exceptant was not to have the prses. in Rugby and Brownsover as an inheritance, or as a farmer in succession, and so to perpetuity, but as a farmer and tennant only, and that he ought to repair the whole.

And disallowed ye excepcons and confirmed the Decree of the said Comissiones yet nevertheless recommended it to the Trustees and Feoffees to lett ye sd prmisses. at a reasonable rate to ye exceptant or some of his kindred Inhabiting in Brownsover from time to time before any others.——And that Sergt : Newdegate & the 2 Knights of ye Shire should nominate such feoffees as they should think fitt to supply the places of those that were dead. And referred it to ye sd Sr Justinian Lewen to Tax moderate costs agt. the exceptant Wm. Howkins. And forasmuch as John Howkins had taken excepcons to ye Master's report as to ye costs thereby Taxed against him Referred it back again to the said Master, either to add or diminish as he shall see cause, And what costs are taxed to be paid to the feoffees or whom They shall appointe, To the end that so much as was expended by the former Prosecutor, Edward Harrison, deced., may be paid to his Executor or Admr., And what costs are due to the now Prosecutor, Edmund Bromwich, may be paid to him.

Thus, one hundred years after the death of Lawrence Sheriffe, and the Foundation of the School, the long and tedious litigation respecting the appropriation of the property of the Rugby School Charity came to a close; a litigation indeed which originated, as I have shewn, in a very early attempt at a virtual confiscation of the property left for certain charitable uses. In the foregoing proceedings we find the earliest rules laid down for the regulation of the Charity, the meetings directed to be held quarterly by the Trustees, and the providing for an usher in the contingency of an increase of the Scholars to a number beyond the reasonable supervision of a single Master; but until the year 1675 no Register of Scholars was kept.

OF THE EARLY MASTERS OF RUGBY SCHOOL.*

1. RICHARD SEELE.—The earliest Master of Rugby School of whom I have been able to find any mention was Richard Seele. He must, I think, have been appointed in or about the year 1600-1, as he was superseded by Nicholas Greenhill in 1602, after having been Master some 18 months. In a former Article, I have stated all that is known about him.

2. NICHOLAS GREENHILL.—This Master was elected a Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1598. He matriculated on the 12th of October, 1598, his age being stated to be 16, but this, I think, is a mistake for 18. He was described as of Wilts, *plebis filius*. He took his B.A. degree on the 13th of December, 1602, in which year he appears to have been appointed to the Mastership of Rugby

* Meteor, No. 112, May 30, 1877.

School, having succeeded Richard Seele, according to the only authority we have, the document in the State Paper Office, in a somewhat questionable way. He took his M.A. degree on the 8th of July, 1605, in which year he appears to have left Rugby, so that his Mastership of the School was but brief. In 1605 he became Curate of Horspath, near Oxford. In 1609 he was presented to the Rectory of Whithnash, near Warwick. He continued as Incumbent of that parish till his death, a period of 40 years. He was installed Prebendary of Sleaford, in Lincoln Cathedral, on the 10th of October, 1613. He died on the 30th of April, 1650, aged 70 years, and was buried at Whithnash, having survived his Mastership of Rugby School 45 years.

On a small mural tablet affixed to the north wall of the Chancel of St. Margaret's Church, Whithnash, is the following inscription :—

MS. Nicholai Greenhill in artibus magistri, hujus ecclesiae per annos quadraginta Rectoris, qui defunctus die XXX Aprilis Anno Domini MDCL, et aetatis suae LXX felicem hic expectat resurrectionem. Charissimo conjugi posuit Maria Uxor.

" *This Green-hill, periwig'd with snow,*

" *'Was levell'd in the spring;*

" *This Hill the Nine and Three did know,*

" *'Was sacred to his King.*

" *But he must downe, although so much divine,*

" *Before he rise never to set but shine."*

The above particulars are for the most part taken from the Register of the Demies of Magdalen College, Oxford, edited by my brother, The Rev. John Rouse Bloxam, D.D., an Old Rugbeian.

Monumental Epitaphs in two languages, English and Latin, were not uncommon in the seventeenth century, as that beneath Shakespeare's bust at Stratford-on-Avon. Anagrams and punning epitaphs also prevailed during that period. In Bailey's Universal Etymological English Dictionary, published in the early part of the eighteenth century, '*Periwig*,' is defined as "a cap of human hair worn by men." We find allusions to it as far back as the reign of Elizabeth, and Hamlet is represented, addressing the players, as speaking of a "Periwigpated fellow." Father Thiers in his "*Histoire des Perruques*" enters fully into the history of wigs. The last Master of Rugby School who wore a wig was Dr. James, who resigned the Mastership in 1794. Such may be seen represented on his effigy in Rugby School Chapel, if the eye can reach so far up. A century ago the Preposters only, of the Rugby School Scholars, were allowed to wear queues or pigtails. Upwards of fifty years ago I had to transact business with an old solicitor who worn a queue. I have not seen one worn since, except as appended to the wig of a Barister or Judge. Wigs are now indeed confined to forensic costume.

In 1602 the first Trustees, who succeeded George Harrison and Barnard Field, named in the will of the Founder, were appointed by legal authority. They consisted of twelve gentlemen of the County of Warwick, of old families. At the head of the list appears 1. *Sir Henry Goodyear Knight*, of Polesworth, of whom mention is made in Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire.

2. *John Harrington, Esq.*, of Combe Abbey, subsequently the second Lord Harrington, K.B., "the constant associate and beloved friend of Prince Henry." Of this John Harrington a long account appears in "The Worthies of Warwickshire," by the Rev. Frederick Leigh Colville, M.A., an Old Rugbeian. 3. *John Leigh, Esq.*, of Stoneleigh, afterwards Sir John Leigh, grandson of Sir Thomas Leigh, Lord Mayor of London, founder of the Leigh family, and father to the first Baron Leigh. 4. *Francis Leigh, Esq.*, of Kings Newnham, subsequently Sir Francis Leigh, created Knight Baronet at the coronation of James the First, and father of the first Earl of Chichester. 5. *Basil Fielding, Esq.*, of the ancient Hapsburgh family of that name at Newnham Padox. 6. *Richard Boughton, Esq.*, of the ancient family of Boughton, of Little Lawford, Bilton and Dunchurch. 7. *William Dixwell, Esq.*, of the ancient family of Dixwell of Coton House, in the parish of Churchover. 8. *John Shuckborough, Esq.*, of Upper Shuckborough, Warwickshire. In the church of Upper Shuckborough are full length recumbent effigies of himself and his wife. He was father to Sir Richard Shuckborough, knighted by King Charles the First, just previous to the battle of Edgehill, and of whom an interesting account is given in the "Antiquities of Warwickshire." 9. *Thomas Wright, Esq.*, of the ancient family of the Wrights, of Hopsford, in the County of Warwick. 10. *Michael Fieldinge, Gent.*, son of Sir William Fieldinge, of Newnham Padox. 11. *Richard Neale, Gent.*, of, I think, the family of Neale of Allesley, near Coventry. 12. *James Willington, Gent.*, of, I think, the Willingtons, of Hurley, in the Parish of Kingsbury.

The Heralds Visitation of Warwickshire, taken in 1602, is now on the eve of publication, edited by John Fetherstone, Esq., an Old Rugbeian; had it been published it would have assisted me in my endeavours to shew who were the original twelve Trustees appointed for Rugby School. An attempt has been made of late years to discredit, if not the existence, at least the social position of the School in its early days, and my enumeration of its earliest-appointed Trustees, is to evince that it was even then by no means that obscure country school as represented by some.

3. AUGUSTUS ROLFE appears to have been appointed Master on the resignation of Nicholas Greenhill in 1605. Whether he subsequently resigned, or died whilst still Master, and when, I have not been able to ascertain.

4. WILLIAM GREENE succeeded Augustus Rolfe. The Mastership of Rugby School became vacant by his death in 1641-2. He was probably buried at Rugby, but no memorial of him exists, and, as in many other Registers, there is a blank in the Parish Register of Rugby from 1641 to 1654. On the death of William Greene, who, and his predecessor, held the Mastership for 37 years, an opposition was raised by some of the inhabitants of Rugby to the appointment of his successor, Raphael Pearce.

OF THE EARLY MASTERS OF RUGBY SCHOOL,

*continued.**

I have now to return to the year 1614, in which year the following new Trustees were added, in lieu of former Trustees who were deceased:—Sir Francis Leigh, of Kings Newnham, Knight; Sir Thomas Lucy, Knight; (Shakespeare was at this time living); Sir Richard Varney, Knight (a name which figures so prominently in Sir Walter Scott's *Novel of Kenilworth*); Sir Clement Throckmorton, of Haslowe, in the County of Warwick, Knight; Thomas Leigh, of Stoneley, Esq.; and Roger Fieldinge, of Barnacle, Esq. The old Trustees remaining, and who were included in the decree of appointment, being Sir Henry Goodyear, Knight; Basil Fieldinge, Esq., William Dixwell, Esq., John Shuckburgh, Esq., Thomas Wright, Esq., and Richard Neale, of Rugby, Esq.

In the course of years some of the above died off, and by an order of the Court of Chancery, 7th Charles 1st, 1632, the following five were appointed Trustees in their stead:—

Francis Astley, of Hillmorton, Esq., of the ancient family of the Astleys of Hillmorton; Thomas Boughton, of Bilton, Esq.; Thomas Cave, of Stanford, in the County of Northampton, Esq.; William Burnaby, of Rugby, Esq., Lord of the Manor of Rugby; and John Newdigate, of Arbury, in the County of Warwick, Esq.

Of the above Trustees in 1642, on the death of William Green, Master of Rugby School, Sir Francis Leigh appears to have been considered the Chief.

Sir Francis Leigh was a great grandson of Sir Thomas Leigh, of Stoneleigh (Lord Mayor of London in 1558), and his family seat was at Newnham Regis. In 1618 he was created a baronet by James the First. In 1628 he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Dunsmore. He was Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, and was created Earl of Chichester in 1644. He was a warm adherent of the King in the civil wars of the seventeenth century, and was frequently employed as one of the Commissioners on the part of the Crown to treat with the Parliamentary Commissioners. Owing to his being thus engaged in the civil service he was permitted, after the King's death, to enjoy his estate without compounding for it, as in the case of the other gentry of Warwickshire who espoused the King's cause.

The Earl of Chichester died in 1653, and was buried in the now ruined church of Newnham Regis, near Rugby; but no entry of his burial appears in the Register. On the site of the chancel excavations were made in 1852, when, amongst other coffins, a leaden coffin was brought to light containing the remains of this worthy, who was for 39 years one of the Trustees of Rugby School. On this coffin was the following inscription, evidently his own composition:

* *Meteor*, No. 115, July 25, 1877.

"Heare lyeth the body of Francis, Earle of Chichester and Lord Dunsmore, who was the happiest man living so long as his deare wife ye lady Audrey, Contesse of Chi. and Ladye Dunsmore, lived, who was eldest daughter of John, Lord Buteler, of Bramfield, and the best of wives and women. She died the 16 of September, 1652, since which time he never had the least content, joye or comfort, till now that he lieth by hur agayne, with whose soule he hopes by the merit and passion of Christ he shall rejoyce for ever. He died the 21 of December, 1653."

The Earl of Chichester obtained an important franchise for the Hundred of Knightlow by grant from the Crown of a Court for the recovery of small debts under forty shillings, held every three weeks at Dunchurch. This Court, before the establishment of the present County Courts, proved of incalculable benefit to small traders and others in this district. The name of Sir Francis Leigh, Earl of Chichester, ought therefore to be retained and had in grateful remembrance.

On the death of William Greene, the fourth master of Rugby School, in 1641-2, the Trustees were about to appoint Raphael Pearce master in his stead. This Mr. Pearce was Vicar of Long Itchington, about eight miles from Rugby, on the road between Southam and Marton, of which vicarage the Earl of Leicester was then patron, the entry of his presentation to which is as follows:—

Patronus	Incumbens.
Vicariæ	_____
Rob Comes	Raphaell Pearce in Art. Magr.
Leic.	xviii. Sept. 1628.

This Vicarage in the 26th Henry VIII. was valued at viii*l.* xviii*d.*, a fact I record for the reason that will soon be obvious. Mr. Pearce had been fourteen years Vicar of Long Itchington, when a vacancy occurred in the Mastership of Rugby School, to which he was appointed. The then Rector of Rugby, Mr. James Nalton, in his day a celebrated Presbyterian Divine, was opposed to the appointment of Mr. Pearce, who probably may have entertained theological tenets differing from those held by the Rector of Rugby. Whether political or religious views entered in the question it is difficult to say. Lord Dunsmore was a staunch adherent of the Crown, the Rector of Rugby espoused the cause of the Parliament, and the kingdom was on the eve of that dire convulsion, the Civil Wars.

A petition, evidently drawn up by Mr. Nalton, and signed by him and certain of the inhabitants of Rugby, against the appointment of Mr. Pearce as Master of the School, was addressed, not to the Trustees of the School, but to Lord Dunsmore alone.

This petition is so curious in some of its details that I venture to give it in its entirety, with the exception of a few *lacunæ* where the words cannot easily be made out.

Copy of the Petition.

To the right Honourble. Francis Lord Dunsmore.

The humble Peticon of the Inhabitants of Rugby sheweth,

That whereas one Laurence Sheriffe, out of his devocon to learning, about 70^y years since founded a free grammar Schoole in Rugby, *where hee was borne*, and endowed with some small meanes for a schoolemr. and 4 poore

almesmen, and made two feoffees, and the heires of the surviving feoffee defrauded the trust and sold pte. of the schoole lands, which about 28ty years since were recovered backe into the sayd schoole by one Mr. Clarke, and then 12 feoffees were named whereoff yor. worthy father was one, all wch. feoffees (Sir Thomas Leigh, Kte. and Baronet, and Mr. Roger Fielding, now Sir Roger, excepted) are since dead, but yett the heires of many of them are living. And that Mr. Greene, the last schoolemaster, dyeing, your peticoners, and the inhabitants of Rugby, consisting of nyne score famillys (according to their accustomed right) made choyce of one Edward Clarke, Mr. of Arts; and the neighbog. townes who are to have benefit as well as yor. peticoners by the said schoole, well knoweing him, and likewise the of the County, gave their hands for him, all wch. were humbly on his behalfe unto yor. Honor. and Sr. Thomas Leigh, and the heires of the said feoffees, whome wee then conceived to bee feoffees as well as their fathers before them were, humbly desiring them to admitt and approve of the said Clerke to have the place after Mr. Greene, which your Honor., and all the rest who are since made feoffees by the now Lord Keep : approved of. And the said Clerke was thereupon, and by an order of this court, placed accordingly into the said Schoole, notwithstanding all wch. the said Sr. Roger, of himself opposing them all, came to Rugby in and endeavoured to place one in opposition of this towne of Rugby and townes adjacent; and all the Honorable. and noble persons interested therein, and gents of the County, did labor to bring in one Mr. Peirce, against all their likings, for whose benefit the said Schoole was principally founded, by which his

The matter came to hearing before the late Lord Keep., who thought fitt and so ordered that Clarke should have the place, in respect of the choyce of the towne and the consent and allowance of yor. Honor and the rest of the feoffees, and the approbacon of the of the County and the towns adjacent vnto Rugby, for whose benefit the said Schoole was founded, and for that the said Pierce was poor and hadd many children, who might charge the towne, and hadd a benefice, with cure of soules, far remote, and Clarke hadd then no preferment, all which considered, yet the said Sr. Roger and the said Pierce, to inquiett yor. peticoners to the of all the said County and the Schoole, beinge instigated by one Mr. Bassett, and supplied with money by him who reporte hee hath spent 80*l* in the Buysness, and will place Peirce in the said Schoole against your Honor. and the County. They now labor by Sr. Roger his meanes to make new Feoffees to strengthen his and their violent courses, and have procured the cause for a newe hearing before the now Lord Keep., on Thursday, the eighth day of July, and yett complayne of others to wrong the said Schoole, who have done good to the same, whilst the said Sr. Roger and Bassett, and Pierce joyned with one Howkins and one Mr. Wood, to *delayne the Schooles Gallary*, the poores meanes and keepe the Schoole lands promiscuous amongst their owne lands, and have made of pte thereof, by wch meanes the School and poore have nothing as yet.

Your Lordpps Peticoners having found yor. Honor. to bee protector of the oppressed, & in particular of yor. Peticoners and country in this behalf, and well knoweing the verity of all the prmises, and how by violence they would thrust in a man soe unfitt into a place wch nothing concerneth them, doe in all humbleness beseech yor honor. ayde herein according to the trust reposed in your Honor, and that a man of such a spirit as Mr. Bassett is may not take away yor right and the right of us all by the protector of Sr. Roger or any other against the liking of yor Honor and the rest of the Feoffes & Gentle, & yor Peticoners & Country, and against the good of us all he may not thrust in a Schoolemr, into the place wch soe much concerneth their good and your Honors care to the prejudice of those for whose good the Schoole was founded the same nothing at all concerning the said Bassett or Howkins, or Mr. Wood, nor the said Sr. Roger, soe much as it doth your Peticoners, all wch your peticoners most humble intreat your Honor to acquaint the Lord Keep. with on there behalf.

And your Peticoners as bound in duty shall daylie pray, &c.

Richard Elborowe
Thomas Barton

John Bradchmore
Thomas Amberose

John Maritt
 Richard Newton
 Edward Holder
 John Martin
 Thomas Billinge
 John Chaplin
 Richard Stretton
 Henry Perkins
 William Perkins
 Robert Creeke

James Nalton, Rector
 Moyses Cowley | Church
 Richd. Flasby | Wardens
 Thomas Harper
his
 James O Coles
mark
 William Holden
 Richard Webb
 Thomas Ambrose

The Richard Elborowe whose signature heads the list was father of Richard Elborowe, the founder of the Elborowe School Charity at Rugby, and grandfather to Richard Pettiver, the famous botanist, who flourished in the early part of the last century, and who received his education at Rugby School.

It does not appear whether any response was made to this petition, nor do we know what may have been alleged in opposition to it. The simple result was, that Mr. Raphael Pearce obtained the Mastership, and continued to act in that capacity till 1652-3, when, on his death, he was succeeded by Mr. Peter Whitehead.

The petition, however, is valuable, as giving us some interesting details, as that the founder of the School was born at Rugby, not at Brownsover, as supposed by some. One of the grounds of the objection to Mr. Pearce as therein alleged being that he was poor and had a large family, and that (under the Poor-Law of Elizabeth) they might become chargeable to the Parish. The petition also discloses to us the name of one, who appears to have acted as Master for a short period, Mr. Edwd. Clarke, M.A., but whose name does not appear in the list of Masters given in the Rugby School Register. We also learn from it that the population of the town of Rugby at that time must have been some 900 in number, and that a gallery for the School in the Parish Church had been in contemplation.

The early history of Rugby School is but fragmentary. At the time of the presentation of the petition, the litigation respecting its endowment was proceeding slowly, the pursuit of knowledge at Rugby was under difficulties, and verily, as far as the School was concerned, these were troublous times. Of the scholastic career of Raphael Pearce from its commencement to the close, we know absolutely nothing.

OF THE EARLY MASTERS OF RUGBY SCHOOL,

*continued.**

To Mr. Raphael Pearce, who died in 1651, Mr. Peter Whitehead succeeded as master of Rugby School, but I have no data as to his death or resignation, or when either took place. It appears, however, that soon after his appointment, the litigants, Elias

* *Meteor*, No. 116, Oct. 11, 1877.

Howkins and William Howkins, who had possession of the greater portion of the Rugby School property, and who laid claim to the absolute ownership thereof, subject to a rent charge, obtained an order for a new commission of charitable uses, evidently for the purpose of obstructing the legal proceedings then pending. This order was dated the 3rd of December, 1652, but on the 15th of January following, which was also in 1652, the old style being then in force, when the year ended in March, the order for a new commission was superseded.

This will appear from the following documents in my possession, which are so tattered and torn, that many *lacunæ* occur. These I give with all the abbreviations, with which the documents of that period commonly abound; and this is all I can find concerning the events of the School during the mastership of Mr. Peter Whitehead:—

Lords Com.—Friday, the third day of December, 1652, on the behalfe of William Howkins.

Upon presenting of a case stated concerning the misemployment of lands given for the mayntenance of a School, mr and almsmen in Rugby, in the County of Warwicke, to the Right Honble the Lords Comrs, for the Great Seale of England, and an affidt made by one Elias Howkins, hereunto annexed, and upon hearing of Mr. Long and Mr. Peche being of Counsell the said William Howkins their Lopps doe order that a newe Com of charitable vses bee awarded unto the said County of Warwick, and that Godfrey Boswell, Esqre, John Pratt, Esqre, John Major, gentl, Richard Bent, gentl, Thomas gent, and Bradgat, gentl, bee added to the form Comrs, and that the form Com bee supseded.

Indorsed thus:—The order 3rd of December, 1652, for adding other Comrs, and supseding comicon granted to enquire into ye misemploymt of ye charity.

Thursday, the 13th day of January, 1652, on the behalfe of Peter Whitehead, schoolemr of Rugby, and the poore almesmen of the hospitall there.

Vpon ye humble peticon of the said Peter Whitehead, this day preferred to ye right honorable ye said Comrs, for ye Great Seale of England, shewing that whereas theire Lordpps were pleased at ye said Peter Whitehead's suite to a warde a comission on the statute of Char vses, directed to divers Comrs therein menconed, or by virtue whereof ye said Whitehead expected to have the arreares of certaine landes amounting to neare 800 li, longe detayned . . . Wm. Howkyns from ye charitable vse. And ye Comrs haueinge proceeded farr in execucon of ye . . . and examined witnesses, and thereby proved yt wrightheings were since ye Com taken out burnt

acquittance altered, and ye said Howkins offered to sell the land, and in respect it was then alleadged by Howkins that he had assigned to Mr. John Lyanghton for a valuable consideracon, there vpon ye Comrs adiourned ye further execucon of ye said comission vntil ye 29th of December last, and vpon enquirye the said Whitehead founde the same contrary. And since yt ye said Howkins hath an order of the . . . December to suprece the former com,

Comrs added ye said Howkins kept the said . . . in his pockett, and gave noe notice hereof vntil ye 29th of Decembr, that ye Comrs Jury and witnesses mett to ye said Whitehead's great chardge, and vntil ye 10th of January instant no new com was taken out nowe for that ye houses runne much out of repaire, and if ye Com should bee supseded all former proceedings are frustrat.

It was therefore prayed yt ye last Com may bee supseded, and that a pretendo may bee awarded on ye former comission, and if their Lordpps shall think fitt to add any new Comrs, that the Com may bee directed to ye former Comrs, and that the said Howkins may . . . for this abuse, whereupon and vpon hearing Counsell on both sides in this business, it is ordered that ye supsedeas be hereby recalled, and the last Com supseded, and that a pretendo bee awarded on ye first Com as it is desired.

JAS. EDWARDS, Dept. Reg.

In the following year, viz., in 1653, twelve gentlemen of the County of Warwick, residing near to Rugby, were by decree appointed Trustees of the Rugby School Charity. These were :—

Basill Fielding, of Barnacle, in the County of Warwick, Esq.

Thomas Boughton, of Bilton, in the said County, Esq.

Thomas Temple, of Frankton, in the said County, Esq.

St. John Cave, of Clifton, in the said County, Esq.

William Dixwell, of Coton, in the said County, Esq.

Timothy St. Nicholas, of Stretton-under-Fosse, in the said County, Esq.

Christopher Harvey, of Clifton, in the said County, Esq.

Richard Hall, of Newbold, in the said County, Clerk.

John Bromwich, of Hillmorton, in the said County, Gent.

Thomas Marriott, of the same place, Gent.

William Bassett, of Brownsover, in the said County, Gent.

Thomas Robbins, of the same place, Gent.

The residences of the above Trustees were at Barnacle, Bilton, Brownsover, Clifton, Coton, Frankton, Hillmorton, Newbold, and Stretton, all with the exception of Barnacle, within half a dozen miles of Rugby. Two Trustees were chosen from Brownsover, two from Clifton, and two from Hillmorton.

Of the Trustees thus appointed, Christopher Harvey, Vicar of Clifton, but also as in other instances of the period designated 'Esquire,' is worthy to be had in remembrance. As one of the Christian Poets of the 17th century, his chief poem, "The Synagogue," appears in conjunction with that of "The Temple," by that revered author George Herbert, of Bemerton. Christopher Harvey's other poem, "Schola Cordis," first published in 1647, has been lately reprinted in a collection of his complete poems, edited by the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, St. George's, Blackburn, Lancashire, and forms a volume of "The Fuller Worthies" Library. I have the second edition, 12mo., of "The Synagogue," published in 1647.

He was presented to the vicarage of Clifton in 1639, and died there in 1663. His remains lie, I think, under a massive slab, moulded, but uninscribed, in the churchyard of Clifton-upon-Dunsmore, south of the Chancel. The architectural fragments which support the slab may have formed part of the spire of the Church before it was pulled down in 1639, an act which aroused the indignation of the worthy historian of Warwickshire, Sir William Dugdale.

OF THE EARLY MASTERS OF RUGBY SCHOOL,

*continued.**

In the Rugby School Register, Peter Whitehead, appointed master in 1651, is represented as having been succeeded by John Allen, who died in 1669, but we have no information respecting the

* *Meteor*, No. 117, Nov. 6, 1877.

death or resignation of Peter Whitehead, or when the one or the other took place, or as to the appointment, and when, of John Allen. As the period which intervened between the appointment of the first and the death of the latter was eighteen years, an intermediate appointment may have been made, but the records of Rugby School in the middle of the seventeenth century, with the exception of those relating to the litigation of the Rugby School Charity property, are extremely scanty. Pike, in his "Ancient Meeting Houses in Old London," speaking of one Bennett, a nonconformist, states that "he obtained a Tutorship in the family of Dr. Singleton, *the ejected Head Master of Rugby School.*" This is the only notice I can find of the connection of Dr. Singleton with Rugby. He seems, however, to have had scholarly attainments. Pike, in speaking of another nonconformist of the name of Mayo, tells us that "he pursued his preparatory studies in London, under John Singleton, a celebrated scholar.

In Calamy's "Nonconformist Memorials" there is a short notice of Dr. Singleton. Calamy tells us that "having been ejected from Brasenose in 1660, *he went into Warwickshire*, and lived with his wife's brother, Dr. Timothy Gibbons, a physician. Upon James the Second giving liberty to the Dissenters, he preached at Stretton, about eight miles from Coventry; from thence he removed to Coventry, from thence to London."

In Wilson's "History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster, and Southwark," Singleton is alluded to more than once. The author of that work, in speaking of Thomas Reynolds, an eminent minister, born in 1667, tells us "he was placed betimes under the care of Mr. Singleton, of Clerkenwell Close, *who made a considerable figure at that time for classical literature.*" Speaking of another Divine, Richard Mayo, born in 1631, Wilson tells us that "the instrument appointed by Providence for his first awakening, was the Rev. John Singleton, a gentleman well known in London, *for his great skill in the education of youth.* Of the prudence and piety of this worthy person, he (Mr. Mayo) always spoke with a mixture of delight and thankfulness."

Dr. Toulmin, in his Memoirs of the life of Mr. Daniel Neal, author of "The History of the Puritans," tells us "that in 1704 he (Mr. Neal) was chosen assistant to Dr. John Singleton, in the service of an Independent Congregation, in Aldersgate Street, and on the doctor's death, in 1706, he was elected their Pastor. In a note to these Memoirs, Dr. Singleton is thus further noticed: Dr. John Singleton was a student in the University of Oxford, from whence, after he had been there for eight years, he was turned out by the Commissioners in 1660. He then went to Holland and studied physic, but he never practised it any further than to give his advice to particular friends. His settlements were various, residing some time with Lady Scott, in Hertfordshire, he preached then to some Dissenters at Hertford. He was afterwards Pastor to a congregation in London. When the meetings were generally suppressed, he went into Warwickshire, and lived there with his wife's brother, Dr. Timothy Gibbons, a physician. Upon King

James giving liberty, he preached first at Stretton, a small hamlet eight miles from Coventry; and then became Pastor to the Independent Congregation in that city; from whence he was again called to succeed Mr. T. Cole." There is a sermon of Dr. Singleton's in "The Morning Exercises."

In Sibree's "Independancy in Warwickshire," Dr. Singleton is thus noticed: "This learned man was nephew to Dr. John Owen, and had been a student at Christ Church College, Oxford, whence he was ejected from his studies by the King's Commissioners, in 1660, after he had been at the College eight years."

The account then given of him is to the effect before stated by others, and thus concludes: "At length, after labouring with reputation in these different spheres of duty, he died at an advanced age in 1706. He possessed much learning and ability, and was a judicious preacher, but his pulpit talents were not popular."

In these various accounts there is a difference as to the College at which his academical career was spent. One asserts him to have been at Brasenose, another at Christ Church. Anthony Wood, in the "Athenæ Oxonienses," is silent respecting him. Presuming him to have been appointed master of Rugby School on his ejection from the University, (and on this point I could wish the evidence to have been more precise and satisfactory, though there is no improbability), when was it, and how was it, he became an ejected master? In meeting this query there appears to me to be no difficulty. It was not from any personal feeling on the part of the Trustees, the then Governing Body of Rugby School, for the master then holding his office as a freehold, which it continued to be till the year 1777, the Trustees had no power to remove him, *quamdiu bene se gesserit*. But being, as far as regarded the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, a nonconformist, he came under the operation of the Act of Parliament passed in 1662, intituled "An Act for the uniformity of Public Prayers and Administrations of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, &c." better known as the Saint Bartholomew Act. Under this every *Schoolmaster* was required to make a declaration that he would conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it was then by law established. Within the twenty years preceding, that Liturgy had been proscribed and forbidden to be used. As in the Allegory, the wheel of life was now reversed.

OF THE EARLY MASTERS OF RUGBY SCHOOL,

*continued.**

John Allen is the next Master whose name appears on the list. When appointed does not appear, whether on the death or resignation of Peter Whitehead, the date of which is unknown, or on the ejection of Dr. John Singleton, if, indeed, he was Master. In the latter case, his appointment would have taken place in 1662.

* *Meteor*, No. 119, Dec. 19, 1877.

Of John Allen as Master, we know absolutely nothing. He died in 1669. In his mastership, however, viz., in 1667, the long and tedious litigation as to the property devised by the Founder came to a termination in favour of the Charity, and the Trustees were now enabled from the receipts of the charity lands in Lambs Conduit Fields, near London, and at Brownsover, not only to pay regularly to the Master his annual salary of Twelve Pounds, the sum fixed by the Founder in 1567, but also to each of the four almsmen his quarterly stipend of seven shillings and sevenpence, and to bestow somewhat in the reparation of the Schoolhouse and premises.

In 1669, Knightley Harrison, M.A., was appointed Master. He continued as such for barely five years, when he resigned the mastership in 1674.

Of the Trustees, Charles Leigh, of Leighton, in the County of Bedford, Esq., Sir William Bromley, of Baginton, in the County of Warwick, Knight and Baronet, Thomas Shaw, Esq., and John Westley, of Thorpe, in the County of Warwick, Esq., were appointed in 1667. In 1670, Thomas Leigh, Esq., afterwards Lord Leigh, was appointed a Trustee, and in 1676 Adolphus Oughton, Esq., was so appointed.

In 1674, on the resignation of Knightley Harrison, Robert Ashbridge, Master of Arts, was appointed Master. It is to Mr. Robert Ashbridge that we are indebted for the commencement, in 1675, of the Rugby School Register, or a "Register of Boys educated at Rugby School." This, with the intervention of about five years in the middle of the last century, has been continued to the present day. Of twenty-six boys entered in 1675, fourteen were foundationers, and twelve came from a distance, one of them from Cumberland, as boarders. In 1676, seventeen boys were admitted, of whom ten were foundationers. In 1677, eleven boys were admitted, of whom nine were foundationers. In 1678, eight boys were admitted, of whom two were foundationers. In 1679, four boys were admitted, of whom one was a foundationer. And in 1680, ten boys were admitted, of whom eight were foundationers. Amongst those educated by Mr. Ashbridge we find the names of *James Pettiver*, of Hillmorton, a very celebrated naturalist and botanist of the latter part of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century, who died in 1717. He published some valuable botanical works. After his death, his collection was purchased by Sir Hant Sloane, and is preserved in the British Museum; *Richard Adams*, of Charwelton, Northamptonshire, admitted to Rugby School in 1675; became a Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1680. In 1687, he, in common with the President, Fellows, Chaplains, and other Demies, had to leave Magdalen College in consequence of the unconstitutional proceedings of the King, James the Second, against that College. On the 24th of October, 1688, he, in common with the President, Fellows, and other Demies, was formally readmitted to his Demyship by the Bishop of Winchester, by virtue of a Commission from the Crown. On the fourth of November following, the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay.

Robert Ashbridge resigned the mastership of the School in 1681.

In 1681 succeeded to Robert Ashbridge, Leonard Jeacock, Master of Arts, as Master of Rugby School. This position he retained to his death, which occurred in 1687. In 1681-2-3-4, thirty-three boys were admitted : of these 21 were foundationers. In the year 1685-6, no register appears to have been kept.

The Right Hon. William, third Earl of Denbigh, was appointed a Trustee in 1678, Thomas Colborne, Esq., in 1680, Francis Burden, of Rugby, in 1681, the Right Honourable Basil, Earl of Denbigh, and Oliver Cave, of Clifton, in 1682; and in 1685, William Bromley, of Baginton, in the County of Warwick, Esq., Basil Fielding, of Barnacle, in the County of Warwick, Esq., and Thomas Clarke, of Willoughby, in the said County of Warwick, Esq., were appointed Trustees of Rugby School.

And now came a more favourable turn in the financial state of the Rugby School Charity, though for some ninety years longer the condition of the Charity in this respect continued depressed.

For by Indenture bearing date the twentieth day of October, one thousand six hundred and eighty-six, and made between the Right Honourable Basil, Earl of Denbigh, the Right Honourable Thomas, Lord Leigh, the Honourable Charles Leigh, Esq., Sir John Bridgeman, Baronet, William Bromley, Basil Fielding, Thomas Clark, John Westley, Esquire, Timothy St. Nicholas, Gentleman, Oliver Cave, Esquire, and Francis Burden, Clerk, Feoffees of the Free School and Almshouses of Rugby, in the County of Warwick, of the one part; and Nicholas Barbon, of London, Doctor in Physick, of the other part; the said Feoffees, in pursuance of a Decree of the Court of Chancery, therein mentioned, and for other considerations therein expressed, did lease, set, and to farm lett unto the said Nicholas Barbon, all that third part, the whole in three equal parts to be divided, of all that close of pasture or inclosed ground, called Conduit Field, with the appurtenances, containing on the whole, by estimation, twenty-four acres, more or less, lying and being in the parish of St. Andrews, Holborn, in the County of Middlesex, formerly in the occupation of one William Blount, and then or late of Thomas Bonny, his assignee or assigns, with all appurtenances thereto belonging, to hold to the said Nicholas Barbon, his executors, administrators, and assigns, from the feast of the Birth of our Lord, then next ensuing, for the term of fifty years, at the yearly rent of fifty pounds, payable quarterly, as therein mentioned; in which said Indenture the said Nicholas Barbon covenanted with the said Feoffees, their heirs, successors, and assigns, forthwith to sue forth and prosecute with effect, a Writ of Partition against the other Tertenants of the said close called Conduit Field, so that the same should be divided, and a full third part and proportion thereof set forth and allotted, by meers and bounds, to the said Feoffees, their heirs, successors, and assigns.

A Partition was afterwards had and made of the said field called Conduit Field, by the direction and in pursuance of a Decree of the said Court of Chancery, and a certain piece or parcel of the said ground, part of the said field, was, upon the said partition, allotted and set apart unto and for and as the specifick part or share of the Feoffees and Trustees of the said Charity.

The annual income of the Charity could not at this time (1686-7) have exceeded £80., but we now come upon a new phase, and can trace its history more clearly than hitherto.

OF THE EARLY MASTERS OF RUGBY SCHOOL, *continued.**

When, in 1834, the late Duke of Wellington was travelling to Oxford, previous to his being installed Chancellor of that University, as his carriage was descending Headington Hill, and was near in its approach to Oxford, he espied a tower at a distance, and turning to his travelling companion, Mr. John Wilson Croker, for many years Secretary to the Admiralty, though not then in office, and a well-known writer in the *Quarterly Review*, the Duke exclaimed, "What tower is that?" Mr. Croker replied, "That is the tower against which James the Second knocked his head." It was so indeed, and that knocking of the head gave, incidentally, to Rugby School its most celebrated Master of the seventeenth century, Mr. Henry Holyoak, some time one of the Chaplains of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Leaving in his will to Rugby School the portraits of his father and grandfather, it may well be asked what they had done that their memories should be thus rescued from oblivion. They were both scholars, well known for their attainments in the age in which they lived, and a short account of each will not be out of place. Francis Holyoak, the grandfather of Mr. Henry Holyoak, who writes himself *de sacra quercu*, was born at Nether Whitacre, in Warwickshire, no great distance from Rugby, in the year 1567, about the time of the foundation of Rugby School. In the year 1582, or thereabouts, he is supposed to have applied himself to academical learning, at Queen's College, in the University of Oxford. He appears to have been for some time a schoolmaster, but where I know not. He was presented to the Rectory of Southam, near Rugby, in February, 1604, which incumbency he appears to have retained until his death, during a period of 46 years. Being esteemed a grave and learned person, he was elected a member of the Association of the Clergy, in the first year of the reign of Charles the First. Being a devoted Royalist he suffered much for the King's cause during the time of the great rebellion, which began in 1642. One incident we find related of him in a letter by one Nicholas Wharton, a sergeant in the parliamentary forces, dated Coventry, August 26th, 1642. In this he says:—"Monday morning (August 19) we marched into Warwickshire, about three thousand foot, and four hundred horse, until we came to Southam. This is a very malignant town, both minister and people. We pillaged the minister and took from him a drum and several arms." The minister thus pillaged was this Francis Holyoak. He appears to have died on the 13th November, 1653, in the 87th year of his age. His writings are as follows:—

* *Meteor*, No. 120, Feb. 12, 1878.

"*Sermon of Obedience, especially unto authority ecclesiastical, &c.*, on Hebrews 13, 17, preached at a visitation of Dr. Will Hinton, Archdeacon of Coventry. Published at Oxford, 1610," quarto. "*Dictionarium Etymologicum*, part 2nd, Rider's Dictionary, corrected and augmented, wherein Rider's Index is translated into a Dictionary Etymological, deriving every word from his native fountain, &c. London, 1606, &c.," in a thick quarto. This Dictionary was afterwards published several times with the addition of many hundred words out of the law, and out of the Latin, French, and other languages, &c.

Thomas Holyoak, son of the above, and father of Mr. Henry Holyoak, was born at Stony Thorp, an ancient and curious stone mansion, near to Southam, his father's living, in Warwickshire, in 1616. He was educated in grammar learning at Coventry, under one Mr. White, and became a student at Queen's College, Oxford, in Michaelmas Term, 1632, being then 16 years of age. He took the degrees in Arts, and became Chaplain of that College. In the beginning of the Civil War, when Oxford became the residence of Charles the First, and garrisoned by the King's forces, Thomas Holyoak was put into commission and became Captain of a Company of foot, consisting mostly of scholars of that University. In this position doing good service, he had the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him by favour of the King. After the surrender of Oxford to the Parliamentary forces, he, by the name of Thomas Holyoak, without the addition of Master, Bachelor, or Doctor of Divinity, obtained a license to practise physic, whereupon settling in his own county, Warwickshire, he exercised that faculty with good success till the restoration in 1660. In that year Thomas Lord Leigh, Baron of Stoneleigh, presented him to the Rectory of Whitnash, near Warwick. Soon after this he was made a Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Wolverhampton in Staffordshire. In 1674 Robert Lord Brook conferred upon him the donative of Breamowe in Hampshire, worth about £200. per annum, free from presentation, institution, and episcopal visitation, but before he had enjoyed it a year, he died there of a high fever, on the 10th of June, 1675, being much respected in the neighbourhood where he lived, for his ingenuity and humanity. His body was conveyed to Warwick, and there interred by that of his father, in the great church dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin.

This Thomas Holyoak was a Lexicographer of some merit. He compiled a large dictionary in three parts: 1. The English before the Latin; 2. The Latin before the English; 3. The proper names of persons, places, and other things necessary to the understanding of Historians and Poets. This was published in London in 1677, two years after the author's death, in a large thick folio, in which is an epistle written by one of the author's sons, Charles Holyoak, of the Inner Temple, London, whereby he dedicated the work to Foulke Lord Brook. Another preface was written by Dr. Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, wherein were many things said of the work, and of the author. The foundation of this dictionary was laid by Francis Holyoak, father of Thomas, and it was the largest dictionary made that had ever yet been published in England.

Such is the tribute of remembrance paid to those worthy scholars and lexicographers, the father and grandfather of Henry Holyoak, who, albeit no author, as far as published works are concerned, worthily kept up the credit of his immediate progenitors, and passed the greater portion of his life in a way which evinced him to be eminently fitted for his position.

Henry Holyoak, born in Warwickshire (but where his father then resided I know not) about the year 1657-8, was admitted as a chorister to Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1672, by the then President, Dr. Henry Clarke, who had shortly before been unanimously chosen President on the resignation of his predecessor, Dr. Pierce. Dr. Clarke was himself of an old Warwickshire family, resident at Willoughby, near Rugby and Southam, and was probably well acquainted with both the father and grandfather of Henry Holyoak, who was one of twelve children, and one of the first choristers admitted by Dr. Clarke. As such he received his education at Magdalen College School, first under Mr. Richard Reeve, then master and instructor in grammar. Mr. Reeve was usher of this School in 1668, and succeeded as chief master in 1670. The School was then "much frequented by the youth of those parts," the master (Mr. Reeve) being "accounted a perfect philologist, admirably well versed in all classical learning and a good Grecian." On the resignation of Mr. Reeve in 1673, he was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Collins, who remained master for the long space of fifty years. He died in 1722-3. He was, I quote from "Hearne's Diary," "a most excellent scholar and preacher, of great wit, and a most facetious companion." Such were the two worthies under whom Mr. Henry Holyoak received, whilst a chorister, his classical education. Mr. Holyoak continued as chorister for the space of four years. He matriculated on the 12th of March, 1674, being then 17 years of age. He became one of the clerks of that College in 1676, a position he held till 1681, when he was appointed one of the four chaplains. He took his Bachelor of Arts degree on the 22nd of October, 1678, and his degree of Master of Arts on the 4th of July, 1681. From this period he continued to be one of the chaplains of Magdalen College, till his resignation of that office in 1690. It was during his chaplaincy that the particular event occurred which led to his appointment as master of Rugby School.

In 1686-7 the President of Magdalen College, Dr. Clarke, who had thus befriended Mr. Holyoak, died; his body was brought down to the family burial-place at Willoughby, and there buried. The King, James the Second, attempted to force on the College, as president, Anthony Farmer, who is described as "a person of disreputable character;" in this he was baffled. On the 15th of April, 1687, the Fellows met, and legally and statutably elected John Hough,—*vir generosi et præsentis animi, quique morum simplicitate et candore, mitissimo ingenio, et virtutum maxime laudabilium felici temperie, spem omnibus fecerat illum Collegio suo et toti Academiæ ornamento fore singulari*,—as their president.

Their election did not please the King, who aimed at an arbitrary government. Dr. Hough was ejected from the Presi-

dency. Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, by the command of the King, was installed on the 25th of October, 1687, and one of the senior Fellows, Dr. Henry Fairfax, expelled for non-submission to his authority, and on the 16th of November, twenty-five other of the Fellows were expelled for a like reason, and two members of the Church of Rome were forced on the College as Fellows. On the 16th of January, 1687-8, fourteen of the Demies were expelled. The Bishop of Oxford, Parker, shortly before his death received a mandate from the King to admit nine more Roman Catholics as Fellows. This went against his conscience, and he shortly after, on the 20th of March, died. In 1688, on the 31st of March, Bonaventura Gifford, titular Bishop of Madaura, was installed as President by mandate of the King. On the 15th of June he took possession of the President's lodgings, and on the following day twelve members of the Church of Rome were admitted as Fellows. Sixteen members of the Church of Rome were also now admitted as Demies. The King had, on the 4th of June, given special authority to Bonaventura Gifford to appoint to all vacant offices, Fellowships, and Demyships, and to expel all such as he deemed unqualified, or who deserved such punishment. Accordingly, on the 7th of August, Dr. Thomas Smith, perhaps the most learned member of the University, and six other of the Fellows, were deprived of their Fellowships. Under these arbitrary and unconstitutional assumptions of authority, the remaining members of the College, with few exceptions, withdrew themselves. Amongst these was Mr. Henry Holyoak, but it was only for a time. These illegal proceedings were soon to be brought to a conclusion. On the 3rd of October, the King, with knowledge of the general dissatisfaction which prevailed throughout the country, sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other Bishops then in London. They advised the King, amongst other points, to restore the President and Fellows of Magdalen College. The King refused to yield till the Vicar Apostolic, Leyburn, declared that in his judgment the ejected President and Fellows had been wronged; and that on religious as well as political grounds, restitution ought to be made to them.

On the 10th of October, the famous Declaration of the Prince of Orange was signed. In it allusion was specially made to the expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalen College, for refusing to admit as President one forced upon them by evil counsellors. On the 4th of October, the King sent a mandate to the Bishop of Winchester, visitor of the College, to settle the College regularly and statutably, and on the 13th, he received a mandate to allow the intruding Fellows a fortnight for their removal. It was not till the 24th of October, that the restoration of the ejected Fellows and other Members of the College formally took place.

I have before me a contemporary Document describing the proceedings: it is entitled, "An Account of the late Visitation at St. Mary Magdal Colledge, in Oxon, by the Right Reverend Father in God Peter, Ld. Bish. of Winton, on Thursday, the 24th of October, 1688. Novemb. 1, 1688. This may be printed."

After describing the proceedings which took place, the names of

all who were readmitted are given, first, Dr. John Hough, as President, then thirty-seven Fellows, twenty-nine Demies, four Chaplains, viz., Mr. Maunder, *Mr. Holyoak*, Mr. Brown, Mr. Haslewood; next the names of the Schoolmaster, Usher, Steward, and Organist, eight clerks, eight servants, and seventeen choristers. This tardy act of reparation came however too late; the Prince of Orange was on his way to England, and on the 4th of November, 1688, landed at Torbay.

OF THE EARLY MASTERS OF RUGBY SCHOOL, *continued.**

Whilst the proceedings against Magdalen College were in progress, the death of Mr. Leonard Jeacock left a vacancy in the Mastership of Rugby School.

At this time the Trustees of Rugby School were as follows :— Thomas Shaw, Esq. (Rector of Baxterley, County of Warwick), elected 1667; Thomas Leigh, Esq., afterwards Lord Leigh, elected 1670; Adolphus Oughton, Esq. (of Fillongley or Harborough Magna, afterwards Sir Adolphus Oughtan, Knight and Baronet), elected 1676; Thomas Colborne, Esq., elected 1680; Francis Burdon, Rector of Rugby, elected 1681; the Right Honourable Basill, Earl of Denbigh, elected 1682; Oliver Cave, of Clifton-upon-Dunsmore, elected 1682; William Bromley, of Bagington, in the County of Warwick, afterwards Sir William Bromley, Bart., the famous Speaker of the House of Commons in Queen Anne's reign, elected 1685; Basill Fielding, of Barnacle, in the County of Warwick, Esq., elected 1685; Thomas Clerke, of Willoughby, in the County of Warwick (brother, I think, of Dr. Clerke, President of Magdalen College, on whose death, in 1687, the proceedings of James II. against that College commenced), elected 1685; Sir William Craven, of Combe Abbey, in the County of Warwick, Knight, elected 1687; Henry Green, of Wyken, in the County of the City of Coventry, Esq., elected 1687.

It was during a period of great political excitement that the Trustees of Rugby School elected as Master Mr. Henry Holyoak, he at the time, with others, having withdrawn himself from Magdalen College, his post there as Chaplain being no longer tenable. To this he was, as I have already stated, formally readmitted in October, 1688, whilst Master of Rugby School. He did not, however, resign that Mastership, but held the Chaplaincy of Magdalen College *in commendam*, till the year 1690, when he resigned that office. Whether other candidates came forward at that Rugby election cannot now be ascertained. He must have been personally known to one at least of the Trustees, Mr. Clerke, of Willoughby, brother or near relative of his former patron, Dr. Clerke, president of his College. He presided over the destinies of Rugby School upwards of forty-three years, and

* *Meteor*, No. 121, March 7, 1878.

raised its reputation to a higher pitch than it had ever previously attained. His salary received from the Charity funds, could not, at least during the earlier years of his Mastership, have exceeded £12. per annum. The School premises, opposite the Church, were exceedingly confined, and the house, the ancient mansion house of the Father of the Founder, a structure of the 15th century, one in constant need of repair. Devoting himself to his professional duties, as Master of Rugby School, I do not find any published work of his, and only one or two epitaphs in Latin. That he was esteemed in his neighbourhood appears from his being presented to three several livings near to Rugby; of these, however, he held only one at a time. The first was that of Bourton-upon-Dunsmore, to which he was presented in 1698; this he appears to have held however for one year only, when he resigned in favour of a son or relative of his patron. In 1705 he was instituted to the Rectory of Bilton; this he resigned in 1712, on being presented in that year to the Rectory of Harborough Magna by Sir William Boughton, Baronet. This living he held till his death in 1730-1.

When Mr. Henry Holyoak was appointed Master of Rugby School, the School itself was in a singular state of collapse. During the two years previous to his election, viz., the years 1685-6, no entry of any boy is set down in the School Register, and it is probable no one was entered at the School during that period; in 1684 only one boy was entered; in 1683 only two. In 1687, the first year of Mr. Holyoak's Mastership, twenty-six boys were entered, of whom twenty-four were foundationers. The following year ten boys were entered, of whom four were foundationers. As years rolled on the number of foundationers, as compared with non-foundationers, gradually diminished, and the School, instead of being a mere local school, became more of a county school for Warwickshire and the neighbouring counties, though not a few came from a distance. The numbers admitted during the 43 years Mr. Holyoak officiated as the Master of Rugby School were 630, of whom less than 130 were foundationers, the whole bearing a proportion of nearly five to one of non-foundationers. But although a very favourite school with the gentry of Warwickshire, and the surrounding counties, and with a reputation extending far beyond those limits, it is probable that the number at the School at any one period did not exceed twenty-five or thirty on an average. It may indeed fairly be asked, how this could be with a School in such reputation? The answer is somewhat obvious. The School—the ancient mansion—built, I conceive, by the father of Lawrence Sheriff, had but very little accommodation for boarders. The town of Rugby probably consisted of not more than 200 or 220 houses, of which at least one half were poor thatched cottages. I have before me a rate book of 1715, when a rate at one penny in the pound realized the splendid sum of £3. 3s. 6d., the rateable value of the parish being then under £800.; at the present day the rateable value is between £40,000 and £50,000. The number of assessments in the rate book of 1715 was 117, or

about half the number of houses. Only twenty assessments paid a rate of 1s. and upwards, the other ninety-seven were assessed under a rateable value of £12. The Rector, the Rev. Francis Burdon, was assessed on a rateable value of £4., his rate amounting to 4d. Mr. Boughton was rated at £7.; Mr. Robert Howkins at £15.; Mr. Plomer at £5. I cannot find Mr. Holyoak rated at all. I have adduced this statement to show what a poor place as regarding accommodation for boarders the town must then have been.

OF THE EARLY MASTERS OF RUGBY SCHOOL, *continued.**

Amongst the scholars, educated by Mr. Holyoak, who in after-life became distinguished characters, the following may be enumerated, though I do not profess to give of them severally more than the briefest biographical sketch:—

Thomas Carte, who entered the School in 1695, was born at Clifton-upon-Dunsmore, of which parish his father was vicar; he was there baptized by immersion. His father quitted Clifton for Claybrook, in Leicestershire, of which place Thomas Carte is described in the entry of his name in the School Register. Carte's History of England, in four folio volumes, brought down to the year 1654, will ever ensure him a name amongst the historians of England. His accuracy was such that he has been called the "historian of facts." From this work, a copy of which is in the Rugby School Library, Hume is said to have borrowed largely. Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond, published in 1736, in three volumes folio, is a valuable historical production. He was the author of other works, no mean contributions to the literature of the age. His life was an eventful one, affording materials for a biographical volume. Thomas Carte died in 1754, and his remains were buried in a vault in the chancel of Yattendon Church, Berkshire. His works, however, constitute his only monument. His manuscripts are preserved in the Bodleian.

William Paul, described in the entry of his name in the School Register, in the year 1696, as of Little Ashby, Leicestershire, became vicar of Orton-on-the-Hill, cum Twycross. He was an enthusiastic Jacobite, who, without fear of the consequences, joined the forces of the old Chevalier at Preston, in the rising of 1715. To these he acted as Chaplain. For this he was subsequently arrested, tried, and convicted of high treason, and on the 13th of July, 1716, being conveyed on a sledge from Newgate to Tyburn, he was there hung, drawn and quartered. He went to the place of execution in the canonical habit of the Clergy of the Church of England. I have an engraved portrait of him.

Edward Cave, projector of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, was entered at Rugby School in the year 1700, being then nine years

* *Meteor*, No. 123, April 18, 1878.

of age : he was subsequently apprenticed to a printer, and he corrected the "Gradus ad Parnassum" whilst that work was passing through the Press, his education under Mr. Holyoak having duly qualified him. In 1731 he projected the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a monthly periodical, which is still carried on. Of this work, a most valuable one for reference, I have a complete copy. It is now as young as ever, though 147 years old. Edward Cave was an early patron of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who, in his biography of Cave, written in 1754, after the death of the latter, indicates that Cave was not very well used whilst at Rugby School. Of this worthy a family conversation piece, painted in the style of or by Hogarth himself, (the latter I think very probable), represents Edward Cave, his father Joseph Cave, who died in 1747, and other members of his family. This is, I believe, in the possession of Mr. Edward Rogers, of Newton, near Rugby, a descendant of Joseph Cave. In the Rogers' family is a miniature of Edward Cave, and I have an engraved portrait of him from a small oil painting.

*The popularity of Mr. Henry Holyoak, as School Master at Rugby, may at this distance of time be inferred from the number of members of the aristocracy who were his pupils, and whose names I subjoin, together with the year they entered the School. This I do more particularly, as it was the custom some years ago, within the last half-century, by some, in a narrow-minded point of view, to disparage the Masters who had presided over Rugby School previous to their own time, and to represent, or rather mis-represent Rugby School as before that time to have been little more than a village school.

1693. Craven, Charles, son of Sir William Craven, Knight, of Combe Abbey ; afterwards the Honorable Charles Craven, Governor of Carolina, North America, in the reign of Queen Anne.

1694. Greville, The Honorable Doddington, third son of the Right Honorable Lord Brooke, Beauchamps Court, Warwickshire ; afterwards M.P. for Warwickshire.

1695. Ward, The Honorable Edward, eldest grandson of the Right Honorable Lord Dudley and Ward, Dudley Castle, Staffordshire ; afterwards third Lord Dudley and Ward.

1698. Lloyd, Robert, son of Robert Lloyd, Esq., Aston Hall, Shropshire ; afterwards M.P. for the County of Salop.

1698. Stawell, Honorable Edward, brother of the Right Honorable Lord Stawell, Somersetshire ; afterwards the fourth Lord Stawell.

1702. Mordaunt, Honorable Charles, son of the Right Honorable Lord Mordaunt, M.P. for Chippenham ; afterwards fourth Earl of Peterborough.

1703. Craven, Honorable William, eldest son of the Right Honorable Lord Craven, Hampstead Park, Berkshire ; afterwards third Lord Craven. Trustee of Rugby School, 1719.

1703. Craven, Honorable Fulwar, brother of the above ; afterwards fourth Lord Craven. Trustee of Rugby School, 1740.

1707. Griffin, Honorable Edward, son of the Right Honorable Lord Griffin, Dingley Hall, Northamptonshire; afterwards second Lord Griffin.

1713. Smith, Edward, eldest son of the Rev. Roger Smith, of Bosworth, Leicestershire; afterwards and for thirty years M.P. for the County of Leicester.

1722. Grey, Harry, Lord, eldest son of the Right Honorable Harry Earl of Stamford; afterwards in his father's lifetime M.P. for the County of Leicester, and subsequently fourth Earl of Stamford.

Of those members of Rugby School, under Mr. Holyoak, who succeeded to Baronetcies, the following is a list:—

1689. Bridgeman, Orlando, eldest son of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Bart., Coventry; afterwards M.P. for Shrewsbury, and fourth Baronet.

1690. Cave, Thomas, eldest son of Sir Roger Cave, Bart., of Stanford Hall, Leicestershire; afterwards third Baronet. Sometime M.P. for the County of Leicester, and Trustee of Rugby School in 1705.

1690. Shuckburgh, John, eldest son of Sir Charles Shuckburgh, Bart., M.P., of Shuckburgh Hall, Warwickshire; afterwards third Baronet. Trustee of Rugby School in 1709.

1693. Dolben, John, eldest son of Gilbert Dolben, Esq. (afterwards Sir Gilbert Dolben, Bart.), of Finedon, Northamptonshire; afterwards second Baronet.

1693. Dixwell, William, son of — Dixwell, Esq., of Coton House, Warwickshire; afterwards first Baronet. Trustee of Rugby School, 1711.

1695. Burton, Charles, eldest son of Sir Thomas Burton, Bart., Medbourne, Leicestershire; afterwards fourth Baronet.

1695. Burgoyne, Roger, eldest son of Sir John Burgoyne, Bart., of Wroxhall Abbey, Warwickshire; afterwards fourth Baronet.

1698. Coryton, John, eldest son of Sir William Coryton, Bart., Stratford, Middlesex; afterwards fourth Baronet.

1699. Isham, Edmund, third son of Sir Justinian Isham, Bart., Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire; afterwards sixth Baronet. Sometime M.P. for Northamptonshire.

1699. Wrottesley, John, eldest son of Sir Walter Wrottesley, Bart., Somerford, Staffordshire; afterwards fourth Baronet. Sometime M.P. for Staffordshire.

1706. Wheler, Trevor, eldest son of Sir William Wheler, Bart., Leamington Hastings, Warwickshire; afterwards fourth Baronet.

1707. Wittewronge, John, eldest son of John Wittewronge, Esq., Weston, Buckinghamshire; afterwards fourth Baronet.

1707. Wittewronge, William, second son; afterwards fifth Baronet.

1711. Wheler, William, second son of Lady Wheler, Leamington Hastings, Warwickshire; afterwards fifth Baronet. Trustee of Rugby School, 1724.

1712. Cave, Verney, eldest son of Sir Thomas Cave, Bart., Stanford Hall, Leicestershire; afterwards fourth Baronet. Trustee of Rugby School, 1728.

1712. Edwards, Sir Francis, Shropshire ; fourth Baronet.
 1715. Langham, John, second son of Sir John Langham, Bart.,
 Cottesbrooke Hall, Northamptonshire ; afterwards sixth Baronet.
 1715. Norwich, Erasmus William, eldest son of Sir Erasmus
 Norwich, Bart., Brampton, Northamptonshire ; afterwards sixth
 Baronet.
 1717. D'Anvers, Samuel, eldest son of Sir John D'Anvers,
 Bart., Culworth, Northamptonshire.
 1720. Cave, Thomas, second son of Sir Thomas Cave, Bart.,
 Stanford Hall, Leicestershire ; afterwards fifth Baronet, M.P. for
 Leicestershire, and Trustee of Rugby School, 1735.
 1722. Wrottesley, Hugh, second son of Sir John Wrottesley,
 Bart., M.P. for Staffordshire ; afterwards fourth Baronet.
 1722. Wrottesley, Walter, third son of Sir John Wrottesley,
 Bart., afterwards fifth Baronet.

Many junior sons of Baronets who did not succeed to the title
 were also educated by Mr. Holyoak.

In the entries in the Register for 1726 appears the following :
 "Ward, Thomas, eldest son of Mr. John Ward, Guilsborough,
 Northamptonshire."

Of this young gentleman the following characteristic letter (of
 which the original in the handwriting of Mr. Holyoak is in the
 possession of Edward Allesley Boughton Ward Boughton Leigh.
 Esquire, of Brownsover Hall, representative of and owner of the
 estates of the ancient family of Ward, of Guilsborough) was
 written by Mr. Holyoak to the father.

"Hond Sr

Your young Gentleman is very hopeful. At first indeed I believe
 He thought of nothing but Liberty, but he soon applyd himself to busines, &
 moves with promising succes ; For He had lately discover'd a pretty Emulation
 of not being outrival'd by any of his Equals, which Inclination t'will be my
 busines to cherish ; I have as 'twere just task'd Him & accordingly Sr you'l
 find him at present raw & unpolish'd yet I question not, but he'l soon make a
 more considerable figure.

Be pleas'd Sr to be assur'd of my best diligence & application to Him as I
 wou'd desire to be accounted."

Hond Sr

Rugby

Dec : 12

1726

My humble Service attends Your Lady

These

To John Ward Esqr

humbly

present

Your faithful

& most Obedient St

H. HOLYOAK.

I have not yet exhausted my materials respecting the long and
 popular mastership of Mr. Holyoak. I am persuaded the School
 under his *régime* would in point of numbers have been doubled
 but for the want of accommodation both in the master's house
 and in the town, the latter one-tenth only of the present size. In
 another article I hope to conclude my notice of Rugby School
 under Mr. Holyoak.

COPY OF THE WILL OF THE REV. HENRY HOLYOAK.*

"In the name of God, Amen. Feb. 11, 1730-31. I Henry Holyoak, being of sound mind and memory, do here make this my last Will and Testament. First: I freely and thankfully resign my soul into the hands of the Almighty, who gave it, in hopes of mercy thro' the merits of my ever bd. Sav. I. Xt. andly.: I commit my body to be very privately interred in the parish church of St. Mary's, in Warwick, by being carried directly to the grave and placed as near my Father and Mother as possible. 3rdly.: I do hereby devise what effects God Almighty has pleased to bless me with in manner following: First, I Give and Bequeath to my cosin, Elizabeth Holyoak, Two hundred Pounds, the interest of which Two hundred Pounds I desire may be for her maintenance during life, and the principal placed out to use on good security by the approbation and direction of the Rev. Mr. Holled, of Barby, and at her death to go to the Poor of the parish of Rugby. Also I Give and Bequeath to my cosin Ann Story, widow, ye sum of two hundred pounds, for the good of her children. Also I Give and Bequeath to my cosin Susannah Story, widow, the sum of two hundred pounds, for the good of her children. Also I Give and Bequeath to my cosin Jane Pinley, wife of the Rev. Mr. Pinley, of Stanford, the sum of two hundred pounds, tho' I have several notes under his hand amounting to the value of £45. 12s. od., yet, in consideration of his service in my schoole, I freely forgive em. Also I Give and Bequeath to my cosin the Rev. Mr. Durnford, of Rockbourn, ye sum of one hundred pounds for his son, my cosin Tommy Durnford; I also freely give him ye board and schooling of six years and the expences in that time, which amount to about ten pounds. I also Give and Bequeath to his sister, my cosin Anne Fort, of Salisbury, the sum of one hundred pounds, as both being my sister Betty's children, and both, God be thanked, in superior circumstances. Also I Give and Bequeath to my cosin Judith Holyoak ye sum of four hundred pounds, as having been very serviceable in my house, and seemingly kind. Also I Give and Bequeath to my cosin Elizabeth Story, daughter of Ann Story, widow, as having been serviceable in my house, the sum of thirty pounds. Also I Give and Bequeath to Elizabeth Harris, daughter of the widow Harris, the tripe woman, the sum of thirty pounds. Also I Give and Bequeath to my servant, Mary Ricker, the sum of thirty pounds, as having lived with me several years. Lastly, I do hereby constitute and appoint ye Revd. Mr. Holled, of Barby, ye sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, in trust, notwithstanding, and in full power and authority to call in, collect, gather, and receive all debts, dues and demands relating, or anyways belonging to me, by whatever methods he shall think fit, in order equally to divide the overplus amongst my brother Fisher's children; the funeral charges, and other necessary expenses being first defrayed, which (the dues being paid to the Clerke of Rugby, and fifty shillings to the poor there, as also the Clerk's and Officer's dues at Warwick, with fifty shillings to the poor of St. Mary's Parish, and fifty shillings to the poor of Bilton, and fifty shillings to the poor of Harborow, together with the coffin, which I desire may be barely decent and plain, as also the charge of the Herse, together with a small marble table, as usual to be affixed to ye pillar that's near the grave, for which I have left an inscription as a bare register of the family) I suppose will not amount to so little as one hundred pounds. I desire the funeral may be private, without invitation, and that none attend the corpse to Warwick but my cosin Pinley, and ye undertaker of ye hearse, and that Mr. Sandy's, Mr. Holled, Mr. Towers, Mr. Newbold, Mr. Pinley, and Mr. Strong, if they chance to appear, may have hatbands, gloves, scarves and rings, but that they attend the corpse no further than the end of the Towne of Rugby. The minister who performs the ceremony of the funeral service might have the same hatband, gloves, scarf and ring. I do also leave to the School of Rugby all my Books, and the two pictures of my Grandfather and Father, if the Honble. the Trustees shall think all or any of them worth yr acceptance, if not, to be sold with the rest of my goods,

* Meteor, No. 237, Dec. 21, 1886.

by my Executor. If I have omitted anything yt may seem to my Executor to be either necessary, decent, or convenient, I leave it entirely to his discretion to act as he shall think fit, without being accountable to any. For which his great fatigue and trouble I do hereby give him and beg his acceptance of the sum of sixty guineas, which I desire he would pay himself out of the effects before any of the overplus be divided; nay, ev'n before the legacies be paid, if so be by any unforeseen accident the effects shall fall short. To this my last Will and Testament I have here sett my hand this eleventh day of February, A.D. 1730-1. Henry Holyoak (LS), Signed, sealed, published and declared in the presence of us who have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses at the request of the testator, and in his presence. James Calcutt, Knightly Holled, junr., Ursula Enock."

This Will was proved by the Executor, Mr. Holled, in the Arches Court of Canterbury, the 27th March, 1731.



THE PARSONAGE AT BROWNSOVER.

A SHORT SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF RUGBY SCHOOL, 1731—1827.*

On the death of Mr. Holyoak in 1730, John Plomer, M.A., was appointed master; he resigned in 1742. To him succeeded Thomas Crossfield, who died in 1744. Dr. Knail was then appointed master, which office he resigned in 1755. During his mastership, viz. in 1748, the first Act of Parliament relating to the School was passed. In this the income of the School is described as being no more, *communibus annis*, than £116. 17s. 6d. Of this £63. 6s. 8d. was paid to the master for his salary, and £31. 13s. 4d. to the almsmen; the residue, £21. 17s. 6d. being expended in clothing the almsmen, and supporting and repairing the School-house, Mansion-house, and Buildings at Rugby, with the Chancel at Brownsover, &c. The School-house and buildings are described as being in a ruinous condition and incapable of reparation. The School is stated to have been for many years past *in great repute*. An opportunity occurred of purchasing a large and convenient new-built house adjoining the trust estate in Rugby, with a parcel of ground contiguous thereto, proper for a School and place of exercise and recreation for the "youth" educated in the great School, who had previously no ground for that purpose. The Trustees, therefore, sought powers to enable them to borrow money and effect such purchase, or in case any unforeseen accident should prevent the intended purchase, then for the purchasing of some other convenient pieces or parcels of ground near the School of Rugby aforesaid, and for adapting the same for a School. The whole costs were not to exceed £1800. This sum was borrowed in 1749, and the Trustees having found it impracticable to purchase the new-built house they first designed, purchased another dwelling-house and quantity of ground on the south side of the town of Rugby for £1000., on which they erected their new School. Dr. Richmond, who had previously assisted Dr. Knail, was appointed master in 1751, and in his mastership the removal to the new School took place. He resigned in 1755. After his resignation he lived 61 years, and died in 1816 at the advanced age of 98. At the time of his death the School-house and Schools had been entirely rebuilt, and the School had attained the hitherto unprecedented number of 381, a number first exceeded in 1842 under Dr. Tait's headmastership.

* *Rugby Family Almanack*, 1860.

[NOTE. At the end of the copy of the Will of the Rev. Henry Holyoak, *Meteor*, No. 237, Mr. Bloxam declared his intention to contribute "a concluding notice of this Rugby worthy and Master" to the next number of the *Meteor*. This intention was never carried out, and from this point the series of Articles on Rugby School becomes less continuous and complete. It has been attempted to arrange the following pages as systematically as the remaining writings allow, and to supplement them in places from the Rev. T. L. Bloxam's *Companion to the Rugby School Register*: but several gaps unfortunately remain.]

To Dr. Richmond succeeded the Rev. Stanley Burrough, who had previously assisted in the management of the School. He continued master for 23 years. During his mastership, viz. in 1777, the most important act relative to the School, and by which the future government of it was to be directed, passed. This may fairly be considered the second Charter of the School. Sir William Milman's lease was on the eve of expiration, a considerable increase in the income was to be expected, the School was well known, and in very considerable repute, and annexed to the Act was a Schedule containing rules, orders, and observations for the good government of the School. The then present master was to be continued 'quam diu bene se gesserit,' thus retaining his freehold appointment. Ushers were to be appointed by the Trustees, but they and all future headmasters were only continued 'durante bene placito', and were removable at the will and pleasure of the Trustees, having no freehold appointment. In the choice of the Headmaster, a preference was to be given to such as were duly qualified and had received their education at this School. In point of fact, however, no Rugbeian has, since the passing of this Act, been appointed headmaster.* The foundation was extended to within five measured miles of Rugby. The Trustees were to meet quarterly in the School, and hear the *foundationers only* examined. All boys under the age of twelve years were to say their catechism once every fortnight. A master was to be appointed to teach writing and arithmetic. Four additional almsmen were to be appointed, and almshouses built for them, and their pay increased. A fire engine was to be bought, and kept in repair, for the use of the School, Almshouses, and town of Rugby. Lastly, eight Exhibitions of £40. each, tenable for seven years, were established. Such is a brief of this most important Act. Mr. Burrough did not long avail himself of the right to a freehold appointment specially reserved to him under this Act; he resigned in 1778, and retired to Sapcote, Leicestershire, of which place he was rector, and where he died in 1807, aged 82 years.

And now came the new *régime*, for to Mr. Burrough succeeded in 1778, the Rev. Dr. James, a distinguished Etonian, and a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. The numbers were raised by him from 80 boys, who were at the School the last year Mr. Burrough was master, to 245, a number first exceeded in 1810. Dr. James continued headmaster for sixteen years, at the expiration of which time, his health being impaired by his unremitting exertions, he resigned. He died in 1804. An elegant sculptured monument of him by Chantry, at the expense of his old pupils, graces the School Chapel. Additional School dormitories were erected during the early part of his mastership, as was also the School bath. In 1794, Dr. Ingles was elected headmaster on the resignation of Dr. James. He held that office till the close of 1806, when he resigned. In 1807 the Rev. John Wooll, D.D., was elected headmaster. Amongst other competitors for the mastership, was a distinguished Rugbeian, Dr. Butler, Headmaster of Shrewsbury School and

* See p. 6, *sub finem*. This Article was written A.D. 1860.

subsequently Bishop of Lichfield. Under Dr. Wooll the School rapidly rose in numbers, and at one time attained 381. The numbers subsequently decreased very greatly, but the tide was beginning to change and the numbers to increase again during the latter part of his mastership. In his time prizes for composition were established, and the Schools and headmaster's house and studies were entirely rebuilt, much as they now appear. These buildings were being carried on during a space of four years, viz., from 1809 to 1813. The chapel was not commenced till some years after, and was finished, according to the original design, in 1820. After a mastership of twenty years, during which the reputation of the School was well maintained by his pupils, who still retain an affectionate regard for his memory, Dr. Wooll resigned in 1827. Two important legislative Acts were passed during this mastership. One in 1814, which contains a schedule of the School property in Middlesex, let at an annual rental of £2378. 1s., exclusive of the Brownsover property, let for £91. 17s. 6d. The other, a very important Act, was passed in 1826. By this it appears that the annual income of the Trust Estate in 1825 amounted to £5567. 19s. 6d. Fellowships not less than £100. or more than £300. per annum, but not exceeding on the whole £1000., were established for assistant masters, either retired, or still officiating, who had been masters at least ten years; and some alterations were made with regard to Exhibitioners. This is the last Act of Parliament relative to the School. Orders have since been made, on application of the Trustees, by the Court of Chancery, but these have not been publicly promulgated.

RUGBY SCHOOL, 1740—1750. CHANGE OF SCHOOL PREMISES.*

In 1742, on the resignation of the Rev. John Plomer, the Rev. Thomas Crossfield was elected master to succeed him, and no one ever came to preside over the School with a greater *prestige*. In the first year of his mastership, fifty-three boys were admitted to the School, two only of whom were town boys. Of the remainder, one half were from the neighbouring county of Northampton, the other half from different parts of the kingdom. The expectations of a brilliant school career were frustrated by the early death, after a brief tenure of office, of Mr. Crossfield, in the thirty-third year of his age. The rush of scholars to Rugby during the early part of Mr. Crossfield's mastership exceeded the number that could be accommodated in the Master's house, and accommodation had consequently to be found in the town; and it was during Mr. Crossfield's mastership that I first find boarding

* *Leaflet*, No. 14, July, 1885.

houses alluded to, although some of the scholars may have been lodged out previously. Of this, however, we have no notice. On the death of Mr. Crossfield, the Rev. Mr. or Dr. Knail, (for I find him indifferently so called), was elected master. This was in 1744. Soon after this, the state of the School-house buildings and School-room having become delapidated from age, required the unwearied attention of the Trustees, a body in 1746 comprising the Nobility and Gentry following: the Right Honorable William, Earl of Denbigh; Thomas, Lord Leigh; the Right Honorable Fulwar, Lord Craven; Sir Thomas Cave, Sir Stewkley Shuckburgh, Sir William Wheler, Sir Francis Skipwith, William Craven, John Harvey Thursby, Charles Palmer, Edward Tayler, and Samuel Towers, clerk.

Amongst the Trustees of Rugby School, it was, as in other cases, deemed desirable that one of their number should generally, not merely at their meetings, take a leading part, and this devolved upon Sir Thomas Cave; not that he was senior Trustee, but his habits of business, and the attention he paid to all matters connected with the Charity, pointed him out to his co-trustees as one on whose judgment they might fairly rely, and acquiesce in; and it was well for the School that they did so.

Sir Thomas Cave, to whose memory Rugby School owes a debt of gratitude, was the second son of Sir Thomas Cave, a former Trustee of Rugby School, elected as such in 1705: he died in 1719, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Verney Cave, elected a Trustee of the School in 1728. Sir Verney died unmarried in 1734, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir Thomas Cave, of whom I am treating. In 1735 this Sir Thomas was elected a Trustee of Rugby School, and in 1741 he was elected as a representative in Parliament for the County of Leicester. Entered at Rugby School in 1720, in the mastership of the Rev. Henry Holyoak, he, in mature years, attributed his success in life not a little to his education at Rugby, to that the school of his boyhood, to which there is reason to believe, he was, on that account, deeply attached.

The ancient Mansion in Rugby, of Lawrence Sheriff, intended for and used up to this time as the Master's residence, was probably erected by the father of the Founder of the School, at the close of the 15th or early in the 16th century. It was a half-timbered house, with, probably, a gabled front, of small low rooms, of two stories in height, the upper overhanging the lower, with a basement and sloping set-off of stone. In its day it was probably the principal structure in Rugby, the Parish Church excepted, though now fast advancing to decay. The School House, *i.e.*, the Schoolroom, was built perhaps a century later, towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, and this also required reconstruction, but there were no funds available for the purpose; the London portion of the Trust estate had been let on building leases, and 30 years would elapse ere they would fall in. This was an emergency that required mature consideration, and only two expedients presented themselves. The one was a sale of a portion of the London estate to the Foundling Hospital, whose property adjoined that of the Rugby charity, and negotiations were actually entered into for

that purpose. The other was the raising of money by mortgage of the reversion in the London estate. Neither, however, of these expedients could take effect without the sanction of the Legislature, and it was doubtful whether that would be given. Sir Thomas Cave, therefore, undertook to write to the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Onslow, for his advice, and penned the following letter :

Dec^r 6, 1746.

Sr,—Perhaps you will accuse me of taking too great a liberty when I beg your sentiments on y^e enclosed Proposal. If I lye under your censure on this account, or my address gives Mr. Onslow even a shaddow of offence, I shall be exceedingly concerned at having drawn that upon me which of all things I would study to avoid. One particular I am confident will plead strenuously for my excuse. If I am impertinent it is in favour of an Antient Seat of Learning and Erudition, where many have imbibed in y^r younger years such principles and abilitys as have in maturer days shone out in that Assembly you Sr now preside over ; as well as other useful Ornaments in other Stations where their different Professions and inclinations have led y^m. My own desire to promote that Seminary to which I am indebted for whatever little Talent I am Master of, added to y^e unanimous Request of y^e other Trustees of that foundation, are the motives of my entreating your Thoughts upon such a Bill as y^e enclosed state of our case is, in hopes y^e Legislature will not reject. If such sh^d be y^e unhappy fate of this flourishing School, it must soon drop away and perish along with its antient and ruinous Buildings. Y^e favour of y^r Reply will either give us great joy or real concern, and on y^r opinion We shall either prepare for y^e introducing such a Bill soon after Xmas, or with sorrow think no more of such a design. Intreating your pardon for the freedom of this, I beg you to accept y^e best Respects of Sir

Y^r most ob^t humb Serv^t

T(HOMAS) C(AVE).

To which the following reply was returned :

Sir,—I had the honour of your letter a few days ago, and shall always be glad to obey your commands, when it is in my power to do it. I have read over the case you sent me ; and tho' I never presume to say what the Parliament will do, yet as you so much desire my thoughts upon this matter, I can go so far as to tell you, it appears to me, as stated, to be no improper subject in general for the consideration of the Legislature. I am, with great respect, Sir, your most humble and most obedient Servant,

AR. ONSLOW.

Leicester Street,
13 Dec^r, 1746.

On the receipt of Mr. Onslow's letter a Bill was prepared and carried through the House of Commons, though not without a shew of opposition, and this, in 1748, received the Royal Assent, and thus became an Act of the Legislature.

A digest of this Act is as follows :

An Act for raising money out of an Estate in the County of Middlesex, given by Lawrence Sheriff, for the founding and maintaining a School and Almshouses at Rugby, in the County of Warwick, to be applied in rebuilding the said School, or purchasing one or more messuage or messuages, together with some ground adjoining thereto, and for the better support of the said Charity.

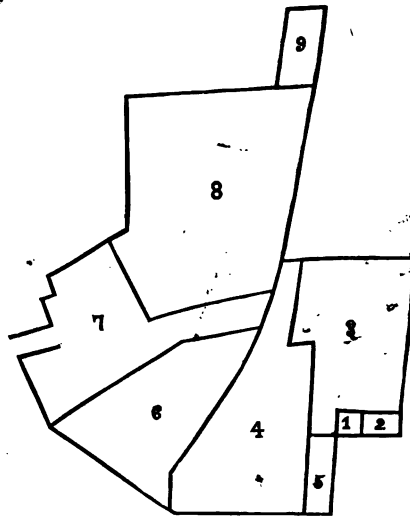
This Act first recites the foundation of the School, the In-

quisition of 1653, the building lease to Nicholas Barbon, in 1686, for 50 years, the partition of Conduit Field, the lease to Sir William Milman, from 1736, for 43 years, at the yearly rent of £60.

The Act then goes on to state that the clear yearly produce of the Estate belonging to the said Charity amounted, *communibus annis*, to no more than £116. 17s. 6d., which was applied in the payment of £63. 6s. 8d. to the Schoolmaster of the said Free School for his salary, and the yearly sum of £31. 13s. 4d. for the relief of the four almsmen, making together £95. a year; and the surplus of the said yearly income, being about £21. 17s. 6d. per annum, was laid out and expended in clothing the said almsmen, supporting and repairing the School House, Mansion House, and Buildings at Rugby, with the Chancel at Brownsover, belonging to the said Charity, and other necessary expenses incident to the said trust. It further states that not only the School House and other buildings at Rugby were, by length of time, become in so ruinous a condition as to be incapable of being effectually repaired, and were absolutely necessary to be taken down and rebuilt, but also the said School House was situate in a place too much confined, and without any ground or inclosure adjoining for the exercise and recreation of the youth educated in the said School, and was consequently attended with, and liable to, many inconveniences, both to the Master and Scholars; and that the Trustees had then an opportunity of purchasing a large and convenient new-built house adjoining to the said trust Estate in Rugby, with a parcel of ground contiguous thereto, proper for a School and such place of exercise as aforesaid, and also of one or more small tenements and parcels of land adjoining or near unto the said house so intended to be purchased as aforesaid, and which they found on a moderate computation might be purchased, and properly fitted and adapted for that purpose at the expense of about £1800., they were willing and desirous that such purchase should be made of the same, or of any other convenient premises, in case the above-mentioned purchase should not take effect. And that it was apprehended that unless the same be speedily effected, the said Free School, *which had for many years been in great repute, and had been* not only of service and benefit to the neighbourhood, *but of public utility*, would be lost or become useless, and the charitable intention of the Donor defeated. It was then enacted and power was given to the Trustees of the Charity to raise £1800. by mortgage for the purchase of property in Rugby, and for adapting and making the same convenient for a School.

The negotiations for the purchase of the premises belonging to a Mrs. Crofts, adjoining the old School premises, and alluded to in the Act of Parliament as "a large and convenient new-built house," being that house in the Market Place with Corinthian pilasters, with the front covered with foliage, failed of completion. I cannot explain why. I have, however, a block plan, apparently made at the time, shewing the extent and contiguity of both premises.

Plan of the original School premises on the north side of Church Street, Rugby, and of those of Mrs. Crofts, contiguous thereto, proposed to be purchased :



SOUTH, CHURCH STREET.

SCHOOL PREMISES.

1	Brewhouse.	
3	School Garden.	
4	Site of School House and Schoolroom.	
5	Almshouse.	
Total Area of School Premises.....		o a. 1 r. 30 p.
2	Mrs. Boughton's.	
7	Mrs. Crofts, front of her house.	
8	Green, Mrs. Crofts.	
9	Garden, Mrs. Crofts.	
Total Area of Mrs. Crofts' Premises.....		o a. 2 r. 17 p.
6	Everdon's Boundaries.	

At this time the Manor House and land adjoining being on sale at Rugby, the Trustees' attention was directed to it, and Mr. Hiorn, a celebrated Architect of Warwick, was employed to examine and make a report, and on the latter a purchase of the same was made by the Trustees. A copy of that report is desirable, as it gives details of the Mansion House of Lawrence Sheriff.

REPORT OF MR. HIORN, THE ARCHITECT.

Warwick, Mar: 3, 1747-8.

By Order of the Trustees of Rugby School in County of Warwick I have this Day survey'd the Buildings thereunto belonging and find—That the Roofings both of the School and School House & Almshouses are so much

gone to decay, that they cannot be repair'd, but must be entirely taken down and rebuilt, wch will be a large expense, & in all Probability the Side-walls will fall when the Roof (wch now only holds them together) is taken down to be rebuilt. And I also find in general that the School and School House is in so ruinous a Condition as to be actually dangerous, most of the principal Timber being sunk or broken, & the Side walls sprung very much from the Upright, by Reason of the Decay & Rottenness of the Ground Sills, the whole Building being of framed Timber, Lath & Plaster and very old.

I have also survey'd the House propos'd to be purchas'd wch appears to be very strong & well built, the Masons and Carpenters' work being executed in the best manner & with the best Materials, & believe a house equally good, large and commodious cou'd not be newly erected under the sum of two thousand Pounds, wherefore in my apprehension, it is very well worth the Sum of one thousand Pounds, the Price demanded.

The Alterations requisite to make the Premises convenient for a School & School House, walling in the ground for a Play place & rendering the whole properly commodious, will amount to three or four hundred Pounds, more or less, according as the workmanship is perform'd.

WM. HIORN.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1809 appears a letter containing reminiscences of the School by one who was there in Dr. Knail's time. This I now transcribe:

MR. URBAN,

Sep. 16, 1809.

The original School room at Rugby in which I received the first part of my education under Dr. Knail, was a long rather lofty room, built with timber opposite the Church. The house was very indifferent. I have said many a lesson in a small room, into which the Doctor occasionally called some boys, and in which he smoked many a pipe, the fragrance of which was abundantly retained in the blue cloth hangings with which it was fitted up. On the Anniversary which was in the summer, the School was strewed with rushes, the Trustees attended, and speeches were made by several of the boys, some in Latin, some in English.

When this was pulled down and a new one built, I was one of the class which said the first lesson in it. The rushes and the speeches were continued. Your correspondent does not say whether they are so now; nor does he mention the general number of scholars, which in my time was, I think, under 70; but which number has since been very greatly increased. I do not recollect any play ground belonging to the old School, but there was a piece of ground beyond the churchyard, sometimes used by them. There were several Almsmen who used to attend prayers in blue gowns. . . . I should much like to visit once more a place which I shall always speak of with great respect and which must be seen with pleasure by

A RUGBEIAN.

Although no name is affixed to the above letter, no doubt exists in my mind as to the writer. William Bray, a celebrated Antiquary and County Historian, born at Sheen, in Surrey, 1736, entered Rugby School in 1746, was 73 years of age when the above letter was written, which was 63 years after his entry into the School. He must have watched the alterations in the Manor House to adapt it to School purposes as also the erection of the then new Schoolroom. Mr. Bray died at Sheen, in Surrey, on the 21st December, 1832, in the 97th year of his age.

Another Rugbeian of note, entered at the old School in 1748, and who also was a partaker of the emigration from the old School premises to the new, was Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Commander of the British Army in Egypt in 1801. But of him and the new School, in its incipency, hereafter.

I have conversed with two old inhabitants of Rugby who remembered the Mansion house of Lawrence Sheriff, but all the detail I could obtain from them was that it stood back, somewhat retired from the street.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge my obligation to Mr. Greg, late a member of Rugby School, of Mr. Elsee's house, for executing the wood-cut of the block plan of the original School premises, from what I believe to be a unique plan, of the same size, in my possession. I must also add that I have experienced extreme difficulty in condensing the mass of material in my possession, relating to this most important period in the annals of Rugby School.

STANLEY BURROUGH, M.A., HEADMASTER,

1755—1778.*

Stanley Burrough was born in 1725, at Irton in Cumberland, where he inherited a small paternal estate, and received his first rudiments of education at the School of Dr. Drigg in that County, where his father was Master. He was afterwards a Taberdar at Queen's College, Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A., January 15th, 1753, and at that time he was invited to Rugby by Dr. Richmond, then lately appointed Headmaster, as his Assistant. In 1755 he was elected Headmaster, which situation he resigned in 1778, on being presented by his brother-in-law, the Rev. Thomas Frewen, of Cold Overton Hill, to the Rectory of Sapcote, near Hinckley, where he died April 12th, 1807, aged 82.

THOMAS JAMES, D.D., 1778—1794.†

Thomas James, D.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, was educated at Eton. While there the third inscription in Aken-side's Poems, beginning with "whoever thou art," &c., was set as an exercise to be translated into Greek Verse. James's translation, which may be found in the second volume of the "*Musæ Etonenses*," published by Herbert, page 22, was sent to the author of the Pleasures of Imagination, and in acknowledgment of its merit, and of the compliment paid to his own poem, Akenside sent as a present to the translator a copy of Homer's Iliad in 2 vols. quarto. In his time the prizes for Greek and Latin Verse Composition had not been instituted at Cambridge, but he was Member's Prizeman in 1772 and 1773, and was appointed Tutor to his College at a very early age. The highest number of boys at one time under

* *Companion to the Rugby School Register*, p. 7.

† *Ibid.*, p. 12.

this accomplished scholar and excellent master, was two hundred and forty-five, which number was for the first time exceeded under Dr. Wooll in 1810. After continuing at Rugby sixteen years, and raising the School to the highest pitch of celebrity, his health being impaired by his unremitting exertions, he resigned the situation in 1794, and on the application of the Trustees to Mr. Pitt, then Prime Minister, he was shortly afterwards preferred to a Prebendal Stall in the Cathedral Church of Worcester. He died in the month of September, 1804, and his remains were interred in the Cathedral, where a mural tablet has been erected to his memory.



MONUMENT TO DR. JAMES.

An elegant piece of sculpture, by Chantrey, representing his full-length figure, has been erected by a subscription of his pupils in the School Chapel. The inscription on the plinth was written by his most distinguished scholar, the late Dr. Butler, Headmaster of Shrewsbury School, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield. In 1833 a Prize for Greek Iambics was founded, called Dr. James's Prize, with the interest of the remaining money, after paying for the monument.

THE REV. HENRY INGLES, D.D., 1794—1807.*

Of the several Headmasters who have presided over the destinies of Rugby School during the past century, or rather from the commencement of the Headmastership of Dr. James in 1778, when the new *régime* was introduced, there is not one whose name and career is less known to Rugbeians than that of Dr. Ingles.

* *Meteor*, No. 202, May 17, 1884.

Succeeding Dr. James as Headmaster in 1794, and retiring from the School in 1807, it has not been without much difficulty that I have endeavoured to trace, I must own imperfectly, the career of one whose name, to the great majority of us, has become all but forgotten, but whose memory, nevertheless, in any future history of Rugby School, ought at least to be snatched from oblivion.

Henry Ingles was born at Ashford, in Kent, in or about the year 1749, and was the son of Anthony Ingles, an attorney at that place, who subsequently removed to Burford, in Oxfordshire. His early school career I cannot trace, but in 1767 I find him noticed as a Foundationer of Eton College. From thence he proceeded to King's College, Cambridge, where he became Fellow, and took his B.A. degree in 1772, and his M.A. degree in 1775. For a while, after quitting Cambridge, he was Tutor in the family of the Earl of Mount Edgumbe. In 1776 he married Mary, daughter of Edward Chamberlayne, of Mawgersbury, Gloucestershire. She was a lady of slender literary attainments, who, when her husband became Headmaster of Rugby School, was accustomed to request the head præceptor of the School house to act as her *amanuensis*, she being noted amongst her acquaintance as somewhat deficient in the spelling department; but she was not singular in this respect, the literary education of many ladies of high social position was quite as defective, modern systems of education were as yet not in the bud, and Girton College was unknown.

By this lady Mr. Ingles had three sons, the eldest of whom was accidentally drowned, and the father suddenly and unexpectedly met the bearers conveying the dead body homewards. From this sight he received a shock from which he never recovered, and which produced a visible effect on his after-life. Elected in 1774 Headmaster of Macclesfield School, he retained that position till 1790. After the respite of a few years from scholastic duties, he was elected in 1794 to succeed Dr. James in the Headmastership of Rugby School, a post he occupied up to Midsummer, 1807, a period of thirteen years. During the third or fourth year of his mastership, the great School Rebellion broke out. Of this a full and particular account of its origin, progress, and close, is given in the Companion to the Rugby School Register,* under the year

* *Companion to the Rugby School Register*, p. 27. "The memorable Great Rebellion took place in the November of this year (1797). Its origin was as follows. Dr. Ingles was walking down the town one day, when he heard the sounds of pistol shots, as he was passing by Gascoigne's Boarding House (now Loverock's shop). He proceeded into the yard immediately, and found a boy named Astley firing off cork bullets at some of the study windows. He instantly demanded to know where the gunpowder was purchased, and Rowell's name was given up. Rowell, however, had entered the gunpowder as tea, and denied the charge, and Astley was flogged as a liar. The boys indignantly broke all Rowell's shop windows. Dr. Ingles gave out that all these should be paid for by the Fifth and Sixth Forms. The answer to this was a round Robin, stating that they would do no such thing, and on the Friday evening, at fourth lesson, a petard was fixed to the Headmaster's School door, which blew it open. The next day, Saturday, after second lesson, the School bell sounding in a very extraordinary manner announced to

1797, from materials furnished by participators in that noted event. But a traditionary story, which does not there appear, was long after told, not to the marines, but to the new boys of the first and second forms, of the mature ages of from seven to nine with impressible minds, and ready to give implicit credence to the assertion of their seniors, which was that during this rebellion, Dr. Ingles, with half a dozen towels round his neck, ran round the close whilst the boys ran after him with open penknives, endeavouring to cut his throat.

In 1796, the Lambeth degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It may have been, I think, either previous to this or after, that one day a servantmaid going into his room thus accosted him, "If you please *Mr. Ingles, Dr. Flavel* has made bold to call." Now *Dr. Flavel* was the cow doctor at Bilton.

A good classical scholar of more than average merit, Dr. Ingles required strict attention to scholastic duties, and was regarded by

the inhabitants of Rugby that an insurrection had broken out. One boy was walking up to the School Close, when he saw, to his astonishment, the sergeant of a recruiting party, with fixed bayonet, walking up and down before the Headmaster's School House door, and he was immediately told by another boy, he was to go instantly to the Upper School, where he would receive orders what he was to do. Fags were also sent to all the different Boarding Houses, to summon the boys up to the Schools. A small passage at that time connected the old Upper School with the School House kitchen. In this passage the breakfast bread and milk was served out to the School House boys, and Dr. Ingles always entered the School in this way. This passage door was now nailed up by the boys, who next proceeded to break the windows in every School, to burn the benches, desks, wainscoting, and books of the Headmaster in the playground, the Dunchurch Road being lined with spectators. Dr. Ingles had sent messengers to summon all the Masters to the School House, but all were absent. The two Sleaths, one afterwards Headmaster of Repton, the other Highmaster of St. Paul's, were trolling at Sleath's: another Master was out shooting rabbits near Brinklow, who on his return found the head of his house, afterwards a Bishop, had received his "exeat." Mr. Butlin, the banker, now applied to the dealers attending the great Horse Fair, to give their aid in suppressing the mutiny. At the head of this body, armed with horse-whips, and a party of soldiers then recruiting in the town, he advanced into the Close. On this unexpected appearance, the insurgents, finding themselves far outnumbered, left the scene of conflagration, and rapidly retreated to the Island. The present small ditch was then a moat from four to six feet deep, full of water, and from twenty to thirty feet wide; a wooden drawbridge, with a spiked gate in the centre, crossed this trench at the place where the cricket pavilion now stands. This was raised from the inside, as the army of the enemy approached and surrounded the stronghold; but while the attention of the garrison was directed to William Butlin, Esq., who advanced to the side of the moat, reading the Riot act, and exhibiting a constable's staff, and called on the mutineers to surrender, in another quarter the recruiting party waded through the moat, entered the fort, and now no resistance was made. The prisoners were ingloriously conducted by their captors to the Headmaster, Dr. Ingles, who had not hitherto ventured to leave his study. He now made his appearance, and many boys were instantly expelled, and others flogged. It is probable that the Commander-in-Chief of the Rebels, the late General Sir Willoughby Cotton, was among the former number, as he entered the army three months afterwards, and in after-life would sometimes goodhumouredly allude to the share he took in the Great Rebellion, while those who were flogged felt it too sore and painful a subject ever to allude to it."

the boys with feelings somewhat like those akin to awe. Times, however, were different to the present: there was then little sympathy between schoolmasters and schoolboys, and the headmaster of a public school was regarded as, and felt the responsibilities of his post like, the captain of a man-of-war, between whom and his officers and crew, and between the latter according to their several grades, a certain degree of etiquette, sometimes harshly carried out, according to the temper of the commander, prevailed, and was held to be indispensable, lest there should be the slightest relaxation in discipline. So it was in Schools, where boys were taught by boys that all schoolmasters were tyrants. How different from the feeling in the present age!

The sad ungenial traits, and seeming moroseness in Dr. Ingles' character, may be accounted for by the untimely death of his eldest son. On one of the masters communicating to him the news of the victory of Trafalgar, and adding, "but I am sorry to say, sir, Lord Nelson is dead," the response he received from Dr. Ingles was, "And I wish I was dead also."

In the thirteen years of Dr. Ingles' mastership 393 boys were admitted into the School. Of these I only know of two who are still alive, but then seventy-seven years have elapsed since his retirement. During the mastership of Dr. James, the Eton custom prevailed of boys, on leaving the School, presenting the Headmaster with a donation in money. This custom was abolished by Dr. Ingles. On his quitting Rugby School, Dr. Ingles was presented by the Rugbeians at School in his Mastership with a silver vase, inscribed as follows:—

Henrico Ingles, S. T. P.
Alumni Rugbienses
Quibus per ann. xlii. præfuit
Hoc Pietatis monumentum
Don. Ded.
Kal. Feb. MDCCCVIII.

Dr. Ingles was presented to the Rectory of Upper Hardres, in Kent, in 1806, by the Rev. Sir John Fagg, Bart., the patron. In 1815 he was presented to the Rectory of Easton, Hants, by Dr. North, then Bishop of Winchester. It was at Easton that he died, in 1826, aged 77. Here he desired to be buried in a corner of the churchyard, but left strict injunctions that no memorial stone should be placed over his grave.

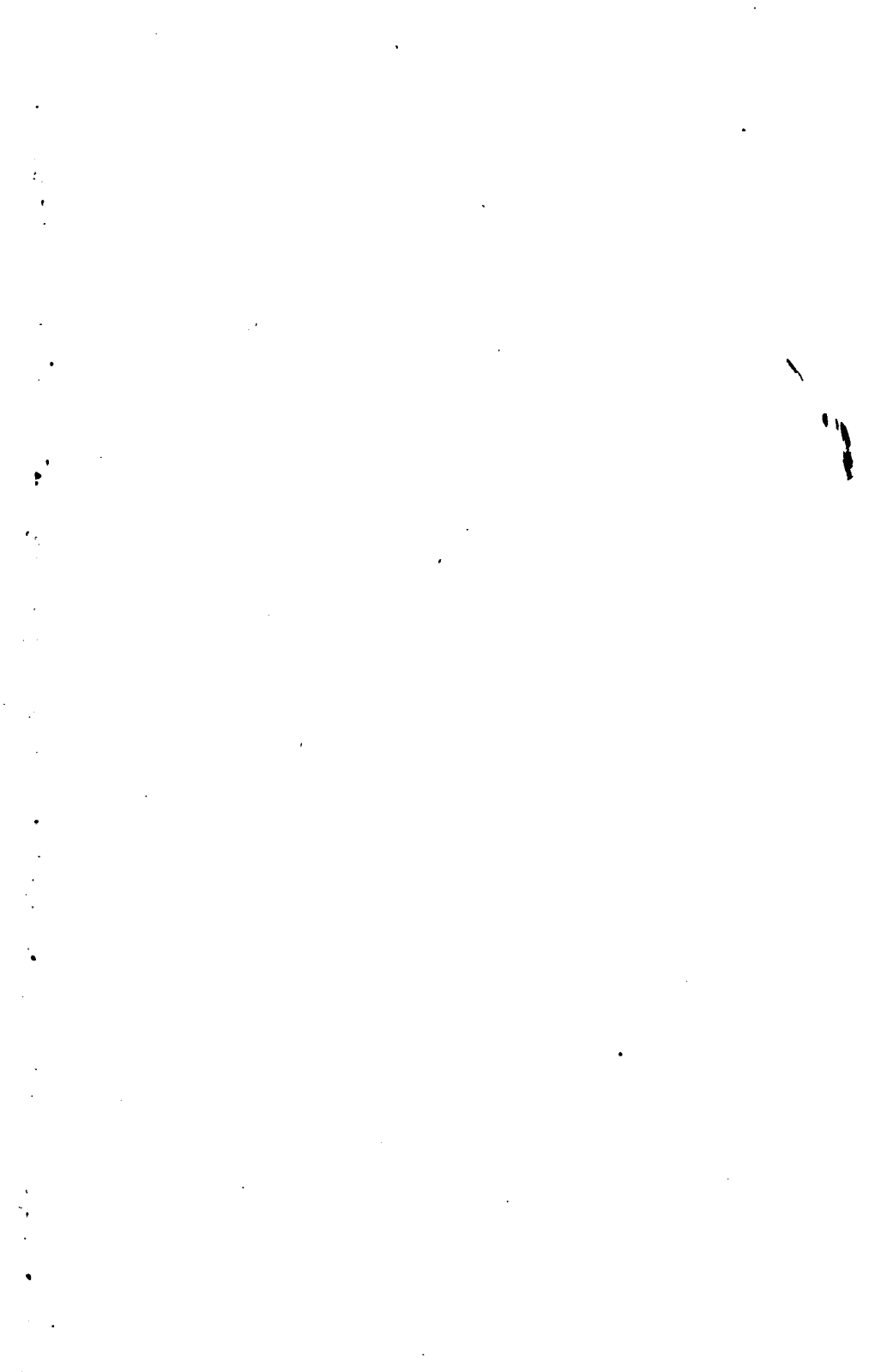
He does not appear to have edited or published any work.

JOHN WOOLL, D.D., 1807—1828.*

Twenty-one candidates came forward as competitors for the Headmastership of Rugby, vacant by the resignation of Dr. Ingles.

* *Companion to the Rugby School Register*, pp. 33, 34.

The First Classes at Oxford had only been introduced in 1802, so that no First Class man was a candidate to succeed Dr. Ingles. Dr. Wooll, the new Headmaster, however, had been Fellow of New College, Oxford, the undergraduates of which College at that time were exempt from passing a final examination in the Schools, and could only try for the University Prizes, many of which they carried away. He however had been Master of Midhurst School for some years, and he brought with him many of his old pupils from Sussex. His most distinguished opponent was Dr. Butler, an old Rugbeian, Headmaster of Shrewsbury School, and the first Scholar of his day at Cambridge, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. The two former Headmasters, Dr. James and Dr. Ingles, were Cambridge men. Of the thirty-two Exhibitioners of Dr. Ingles' day, twenty-five were Oxford men, and it is probable the Trustees were now anxious to have an Oxford man as Headmaster, though many supposed Dr. Butler was passed over in consequence of being considered to be the severest disciplinarian in England. During Dr. Wooll's Headmastership the Schools were entirely rebuilt, and it may truly be said of him, that he exhibited such a happy union of firmness and discipline, that he rarely had occasion to resort to that extremity of punishment—expulsion, either public or private. Little attention was paid at that period as to what Schools were carrying off University honours, and it was not till Rugby had declined in numbers, that Dr. Wooll's most distinguished scholars came out at Oxford—Claughton, Bishop of Rochester, Field, Bishop of Newfoundland, Leighton, Warden of All Souls, Henry Vaughan, &c., &c. The Rugbeians, however, though their names did not often appear in the First Class list, carried off at this time as many Scholarships and Fellowships at Oxford (mostly then confined to counties) as any School in England. Rugby, however, was unpopular, and declined every half-year in numbers during the last six or seven years of Dr. Wooll's Headmastership. He resigned his situation in 1827, and died at Worthing, November 23rd, 1833. His excellent qualities still live in the hearts of his old præpostors and those who knew him, so long as any of them survive, and need no other memorial than that of an affectionate and grateful feeling; but to perpetuate his worth and testify their veneration for his character, his pupils have erected a monument to his memory in the School Chapel. The work is a full-length figure in a sitting posture, executed with great taste and skill by Westmacott the younger, who wished to make the statue the same size as Dr. James's, but to his great annoyance was limited in space. The inscription on the tablet is from the pen of one of his most talented pupils, the late Rev. John Macaulay, the learned Headmaster of Repton School.





THE SCHOOL BUILDINGS FROM THE CLOSE, 1809.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF RUGBY SCHOOL AS IT WAS IN 1813, 70 YEARS AGO.*

A Paper read at a Meeting of the Rugby School Natural History Society, on the 17th day of November, 1883, by Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, O.R., Honorary Member of that Society.

Hearken what the Philosopher, the Roman Philosopher, saith :—" Every man is naturally desirous of knowledge, and man without knowledge and the remembrance of things past falls into a senseless lethargy, and is no more to be accounted of than as if he had not been born."

It is on the remembrance of things past in a particular epoch of Rugby School, 70 years ago, that I, an Old Rugbeian, presume this evening to address you.

On the 12th of May, 1805, at twelve o'clock at night, I was ushered into the world, and before twelve hours had elapsed, a half holiday had been applied for and given to all who were then at Rugby School on the occasion of my birth. What an extraordinary phenomenon of an infant I must have been to have thus excited such attention! Not so, those were the good old times; and one of the good old customs, as they were then considered—I give you all leave to think differently now—was that when a married master of Rugby School had an accession to his family, a half holiday was demandable and given to the school. There are two Old Rugbeians still living who were recipients of that particular holiday; and my connection with Rugby School was, at any rate, an early one. But of this very early event in my life I have not the slightest remembrance.

Born in a boarding-house, I was also brought up in one, and the first event I remember connected with Rugby School was the Jubilee on the 25th of October, 1809, when, of the mature age of four and a half years, standing in front of a passage on the west side of High Street, I saw the School, in numbers 225, walking two and two to church.

The following account, a skit rather, of that event appeared in a local journal. After stating what took place in different localities, Rugby was thus noticed—" At Rugby it was pleasant to see the children of Lawrence Sheriff's Charity School, dressed in their Sunday clothes, walking two and two to church, preceded by their worthy master, the Rev. J. Woolf." There are, I think, two still living who were in this procession.

After this I can recollect little till I entered Rugby School after the summer vacation of 1813.

If I could have imagined myself to have passed a Rip Van Winkle sleep of nigh seventy years and then awoke, I should have found myself apparently in an unknown region—the old-fashioned town of my boyhood to have vanished, and a more pretentious *ville*

* Natural History Society Report, 1883.

to have occupied its place; its ancient boundaries to have burst their limits, and new streets and innumerable new houses to have sprung up on all sides; the ancient governance of the town, chiefly exercised in vestry meetings, and a local Parliament, composed of the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, to have been superseded virtually, if not actually, by a representative body of nine members, constituting a Board of Health, with almost unlimited powers of taxation, to be used for the benefit of the town, a Board elected from time to time by the ratepayers; and other changes I shall by and by notice; my astonishment would have been extreme.

It was early in August, 1813, that I entered Rugby School. The summer vacation then commenced the second Tuesday in June and lasted till the beginning of August. The periods of school tuition were two; no one ever heard the word "term" as connected with a period of school life, but such period was spoken of as "this or that half-year."

There were forty-seven new boys entered that half-year, including myself; of these there are only two, besides myself, I know to be living. One is the Rugbeian whose name appears in the School Register next to my own, Sir William de Capel Brook, Bart., now in the 83rd year of his age. The other entered as:—"Sneyd, Thomas Clement, son of Thomas Sneyd, Esq., Loxley Hall, Staffordshire, aged 10, June 23," is now in his 81st year. He subsequently assumed the name of Kynnersley, and having been called to the bar, was many years ago appointed stipendiary magistrate of Birmingham, an honourable position still occupied by him. He also was for many years Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions for Warwickshire, a post by him lately resigned.

There is one other entry in the list of those entered the same half-year as myself, which from personal feelings I cannot pass by. It is:—"Hume Edward, son of Abraham Hume, Esq., Bilton Grange, near Rugby, aged 9, May 23." He was, with the exception of a few days, one year older than myself; but we were early friends, a friendship only broken off by his death in pristine youth. On a mural tablet over his burial-place in Bilton Church, to which my steps on entering that church are always directed, I read, not without emotion, the record of the decease in early boyhood of Edward Ambrose Hume. A lapse of sixty-eight years has not sufficed to obliterate his memory from my mind.

As far as holidays were concerned, my first half-year passed away pleasantly enough. The examinations for exhibitions took place the first week in the half-year, instead of, as now, the end of the term, and the school had that week, the first of the half-year, two whole holidays in consequence. Holidays were indeed prolific in that half-year. We were at war with France, and whenever the Park and Tower guns were fired in London for a victory, we had, on receipt of the news, three quarters of a holiday. The Marquis of Wellington, subsequently Duke, was engaged with his Portuguese and Spanish allies in gradually driving the French invaders from the Peninsular into France, and each of his successive victories gained us a holiday. Napoleon was also being driven

back from the dominions of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, by the allied armies gradually into France. The great battle of Leipsic was fought in the month of October in this half-year, and we had a holiday for that victory. There was also a whole holiday on the 20th October, with this exception, that the head foundationer had to deliver, in the presence of the whole school, a complimentary Latin oration in honour of the Founder of the School, Lawrence Sheriff. This took up about a quarter of an hour, the rest of the day was a holiday.

In alluding to the entry of our army from Spain into France, a brief episode may be recorded. Whilst our troops were in the south of France, after the battle of Toulouse, and the proclamation of peace, a Monsieur Matha was mayor of one of the large provincial towns in the south of France, through or near to which our troops passed. Some 14 years before, at the close of the last century, Monsieur Matha had been French Master at Rugby School. On this occasion he took upon himself to enquire what officers in the army had received their early education at Rugby School, and to such as he could meet with, and could accept it, he proffered his unbounded hospitality.

One Old Rugbyian is still living who was in the Peninsular campaign.

When I first entered Rugby School a barbarous custom existed, which would hardly be permitted in these days, and the origin of which I am altogether unable to trace. It was that when a boy, in the course of his studies, removed from one form to that above, he had to undergo a species of brutality from the boys generally of the new form into which he moved. Thus, when a boy passed from the First into the Second Form, he was what was called "chaired" by the boys of the Second Form; that is, he was hoisted up and pinched in the most sensitive part of his body till he shrieked aloud with pain. The many forms in which this, or some other species of torture equivalent to it, were experienced by novices till the noviciate passed from the Upper Fourth into the Upper Remove, I can hardly remember. The noviciate was then buffeted;—that is, he had to run the gauntlet so many times up and down the great schoolroom through two lines of those in the Upper Remove, who with their handkerchiefs tied into what were called Westminster knots, struck him over his body and legs as he passed them as hard as they could. Some of the sufferers ensconced themselves in armour formed of book covers, fastened as adroitly as they could beneath their habiliments, thus hoping to ward off some portion at least of this their unmerited punishment. I remember the boys of the First Form obtaining permission from the writing master to leave our writing lesson for a short period to witness a buffeting. It was indeed a striking performance, and no mistake. But the most barbarous practice of the kind was when one went from the Upper Remove into the Fifth Form. The noviciate or patient had then to undergo the operation of "clodding," as it was called. Clods of plastic soil were prepared by fags from the slimy banks of the square pool. These were kneaded into balls, and dried ready for action. The noviciates of the Fifth Form had then

to run the gauntlet along the sheds, and were pelted at by their elders in the Fifth Form, according to custom. When one reached the Sixth Form he was a freed man, and no longer subject to any such vile and savage treatment.

Fortunately for me and those of my standing, these senseless and cruel customs were abolished before I passed into the Second Form. There still remained a something by which a boy's progress upwards into another form should be acknowledged. By some unwritten law, rule, or regulation, universally acquiesced in, it was determined that when one moved into a higher form he should treat those of his boarding-house who were in that form. This treat, which took place generally on a Saturday night, was what you would call a "spread" or "stodge"; in my time it was known by a more vulgar name—in reality it was a hot supper. Now meats at supper were *mala prohibita*, strictly forbidden, the reason assigned by the Headmaster was that meats were provocative of drinks other than the table beer brewed in and supplied to each boarding-house. To each boarding-house there was, however, kept surreptitiously by one of the fags, told off from time to time for the nonce (for if known to the authorities confiscation would ensue), a very humble *Batterie de cuisine*, or cooking apparatus. This might consist of a gridiron, a frying pan, a saucepan, and an iron fork and spoon of somewhat large dimensions. A beef steak, or some such like diet grilled or fried, and some potatoes boiled in the saucepan, furnished a meal all the more enjoyable because forbidden. There were in each boarding-house one or more boys well known for their culinary attainments, and forming admirable amateur cooks. But sometimes the authorities had scent of some of these projected repasts, a razzia was made, and the *mala prohibita* seized and confiscated. And what became of the good things for which certain mouths watered in vain? They were sent down to be distributed amongst the almsmen of Lawrence Sheriff, then not so numerous a body as at present. The almsmen, in the exuberance of their feelings at receiving such unwonted treats, blessed the kind young gentlemen who had provided them with such dainties; but I am sorry to say the feeling was not exactly reciprocal on the part of the kind young gentlemen.

Besides the rude and uncivilised customs I have noticed and their supercession by others of a different class, there was another custom prevalent when I entered the School, which would have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and which happily no longer exists. From this custom originated the frequent pugilistic encounters which then took place; some indeed arising from a personal misunderstanding, many not. It was war time; several of those at school were destined to enter the army, and it was therefore deemed expedient that the battle of life should be entered upon in deed and in fact, and not merely metaphorically.

So it was that every new boy who entered the School, however young he might be, (and entries out of the nursery were not unfrequent), was invited to try his prowess with some other boy of the same size and age. There needed no quarrel, a boy's pluck

must be shown, and if he declined the combat enjoined for him by bigger boys, he was taunted as a coward, and had to submit to be crowed over by the boy he declined to fight.

A gentleman brought his son to the school, a stripling of the mature age of 8 years and 6 months. Some three weeks had elapsed, when a trusty servant of the father had occasion to come over to Rugby, and was directed to enquire how the juvenile got on. On his return he made his report to his master, "Oh sir, you must take Master William from school; he has fought four battles and been flogged three times already." Master William, however, was not taken from school; he grew up, and was famed for his prowess. He took the lead both at cricket and football. I myself have seen him kick goal at kick-off, then some two-thirds of the distance between goal and goal. I am sorry, however, to say that in book-learning he was very deficient. In after-life he sorely regretted, as he had reason to do, his inattention, while at school, to his more purely scholastic duties.

As to myself, I was, during my early career at school, forced into a combat on two occasions, on neither of which I had any previous dispute with my adversary; on each occasion we were edged on by others, and on neither occasion were either of us victorious, as after vain endeavours to spoil each other's beauty, we were parted by a Præpostor.

That this past custom has fallen into deserved oblivion is to your benefit. At the same time I feel assured that you have not less pluck amongst you than we had then, and that you have no need to resort to the old, stupid, and senseless practice then prevalent.

Following the customs I have entered into some details upon, I come to discourse of the games as then played. Those prominent in this, the second half-year of 1813, were first and principally football. Subordinate to this, and mostly pursued by those in the lower forms of the school, were hoops, peg tops, and marbles. Games of the latter were, indeed, sometimes indulged in by some higher up in the school. Two Præpostors, I well remember one of them, were so intent on a game of marbles one afternoon on a whole school day, between third and fourth lessons, as to miss hearing the clock strike half-past four, the hour for their going into school to fourth lesson. It was not till the clock struck the three-quarters that they were roused, with a consciousness of their transgression. Hastily, with downcast countenances, they went into the Sixth Form schoolroom. Here they were met with the stern looks of the headmaster, which they felt as a severe reprimand, and that was sufficient, for nothing more was said or done.

As to hoops, the driving of them was rather an exercise than a game, and a capital exercise too.

As to peg tops, I was not a proficient, and can tell you little about them. They were held, however, in some esteem, for a boy about to run away from school gave to a companion, a friend, a peg top to keep for his sake, as he should never see him again, which indeed he did not till the next time, a few hours after, when the runaway was brought back to school.

As to football, a different game was played to that at present; the rules were few and unwritten, but well understood. Two of the best players chose in a certain number on each side; the fags, all of whom were required to be present, unless specially excused by a Præpostor, were then divided in a rough and ready way, one half being sent to keep one goal, the other half the other goal. Any of the fags, who kept or were supposed to keep goal, might, however, follow up on that side by which their goal was defended, and this some of the juniors did, but at a respectful distance from the main body of the combatants; and as taking up the ball and running with it was not allowed, a kick at the ball was often obtained by a junior. The game was not then a scientific game; there were no matches to record, or press to record them. The taking up the ball first commenced in, I think, the year 1825, by a foundationer or town boy named Ellis; he was also a Præpostor. Had he not been of that grade in the school, he would, I think, have received more kicks than halfpence for breaking the rule. Backs and half-backs were unknown, each combatant, subject to a few fixed rules, played as he individually might list. Whilst keeping goal and immediate attention was not required, games were often played by juniors, an old glove, stuffed with leaves, serving as a substitute for a football. There was no change of apparel for football, no caps, no flannels; hat and coat, or jacket, were simply doffed. There were no matches between house and house, or between the school and foreign teams. All were scratch games and unreported; yet the games were played with as much zest as at present, though when finished the game was no longer thought of.

This the second half-year was not the half-year for runs—paper chases, I think, you call them now, hare and hounds we called them then. Paper scent was only allowed to be used at big-side runs. Little sides were restricted to sawdust for scent. These runs took place early in the half-year after the Christmas holidays, and between the beginning of that half-year and Easter.

One novelty introduced early in this half-year ought not to be omitted, and that was the appearance of Cars. One day there issued forth from one of the boarding-houses, a very primitive, but newly constructed vehicle on four wheels, mere roundels of wood, the vehicle being of the size of a bath chair, with a seat for a single person. This was said to have been the workmanship of certain of the boarders in that house, and to some extent it was. There was then no carpenter's shop attached to the school in which work could be turned out neatly, and the carpenter's aid, especially as regarded the rounded wheels, and the blacksmith's aid, as to iron work, had, to a certain extent, to be called into requisition. With rope harness then attached to the vehicle some of the junior members of the boarding-house drew it along into the School Close, where its appearance created quite a *furor*. The novelty of the thing was taking, each boarding-house must have its car, the carpenters of the town were set to work, and in a short time each boarding-house was furnished with one, the cost being defrayed by the voluntary—I suppose it was voluntary, I don't

know—subscriptions of the boarders. No two cars were alike, but each an improvement on the original and primitive-looking vehicle. The School House car was distinguished from those of the other boarding-houses by having spoke wheels. There were also one or two private cars, the property of individual members of the School who could meet the cost. When, as during this half-year, the news of repeated victories abroad was rife, one of these cars used to go of a morning after first lesson on the road towards Dunchurch to meet the postman, who brought the post bag on foot to Rugby. Good news was apparent at some little distance if he was perceived to be decorated with ribbons; he was then set in the car, and was dragged into Rugby in triumph, and set down at the Post Office. The treatment which the roundels of wood serving as wheels to these cars received, was anything but calculated to ensure their lasting stability; they soon got out of order, and by the end of the half-year the novelty had worn off, and at the commencement of the next half-year the cars had entirely disappeared.

At the time I entered the School, the Rev. John Sleath was master of the First Form; he was also Curate of Rugby, and resided at the Rectory. He had just returned from a temporary residence at the Azores for the benefit of his health. He did not come up to the School for first lesson, but directly after prayers at seven o'clock, which the whole school attended in the great schoolroom—there was then no organ in it—the First Form rushed down to the Rectory, the grounds adjoining which were not, as now, enclosed with a high palisade, but open. There we found our worthy master in the laundry, used for the nonce as a pupil room, ready to hear whoever was prepared to say his lesson, which was a repetition one from the *Accidence* or *Eton Latin Grammar*. We went up without any order: those who had learnt the lesson the night before—there was then no preparation—were dismissed as soon as they had said it; those who had not were kept in till they had learnt it. I should here remark that the door of the great schoolroom was not closed for prayers till the clock had finished striking seven.

And now a word on that good old master of the First Form. Of a commanding figure, he was one who, without severity, kept due discipline over a somewhat unruly class of little boys, yet he was in reality most kind. In those days there were no prizes of books given away, except to those in the highest form. In all the forms below that, those who were deserving of it got merit money. This was called "sending up for good." A number, uncertain, were sent up for good every week in each form, but Mr. Sleath used also to take advantage of a given half-holiday to send up a number of the First Form for good, threepence each—a sum we little boys did not despise.

From the First Form at Rugby Mr. Sleath was elected, in 1814, High Master of St. Paul's School, London, a post he filled for many years with satisfaction to all interested in the welfare of that school. He became also Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, an appointment which brought him into immediate contact with

royalty ; and on one occasion at a royal banquet, at which he was commanded to attend, the Sovereign, William the Fourth, showed his feeling towards him by personally drinking his health. I was well acquainted with him from my childhood up to his death, at the ripe old age of fourscore years and upwards, and it fell to my lot to pourtray his character in an obituary notice. He lies buried in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. I sometimes visit his grave, but not without emotion. He was the only master I came in contact with during my first half-year at Rugby, and I, therefore, treat of no other.

And now as to Rugby, and as to the changes which have taken place in the town itself. In 1813 the population was, as near as I can calculate, about 1,900 ; it is now upwards of 10,000. In that year opposite to the School play-ground on the Dunchurch Road there was not a single house. The space now covered with buildings I remember a cornfield. There was no building on the road to Dunchurch for upwards of two miles.

Then on the Barby Road there was no house or building, except a barn or two, for a mile.

The same on the Hillmorton Road, with the exception of the boarding-house now in the occupation of Mr. Whitelaw.

This was the first private boarding-house built expressly as such.

Then, to take the High Street, Mr. Cropper's house, opposite the school gates, was a boarding-house ; beyond this was a blacksmith's shop and forge ; then on the same side of the street was a mud wall, enclosing garden ground. No other building now existing was on the east side of the street till we come to the Shoulder of Mutton ; then all the buildings are of more recent date till we come to the Market Place. Again, on the west side of High Street all is of a more recent date than 1813. Then the thatched cottages on both sides of Lawrence Sheriffe Street have disappeared ; all is new.

Down Sheep Street, all the structures have been rebuilt, or the frontages altered, with the exception of the Hen and Chickens public-house, and the grocer's shop of Mr. Clark.

In the Market Place only two houses are left unchanged ; the same throughout the rest of the town. In short, I should experience an extreme difficulty in pointing out a score of houses with the same features they possessed in 1813.

As to the School, the School House, studies, dormitories, and schoolrooms were finished westward up to the great schoolroom, and the schoolrooms opposite to it on the south, including the turret schoolroom. The sheds and buildings westward were still standing, apparently in a very dilapidated condition. Along the Dunchurch Road were a series of barn-like buildings, some thatched, others tiled, used for the nonce as schoolrooms, while the new schools were building, and some of them were still occupied as such in my time. One contained the school library, numbering perhaps 100 volumes.

These buildings are most clearly delineated in the drawing, afterwards engraved, of the whole schools and buildings as they appeared in 1809, by Mr. Edward Pretty, then drawing master of Rugby School.

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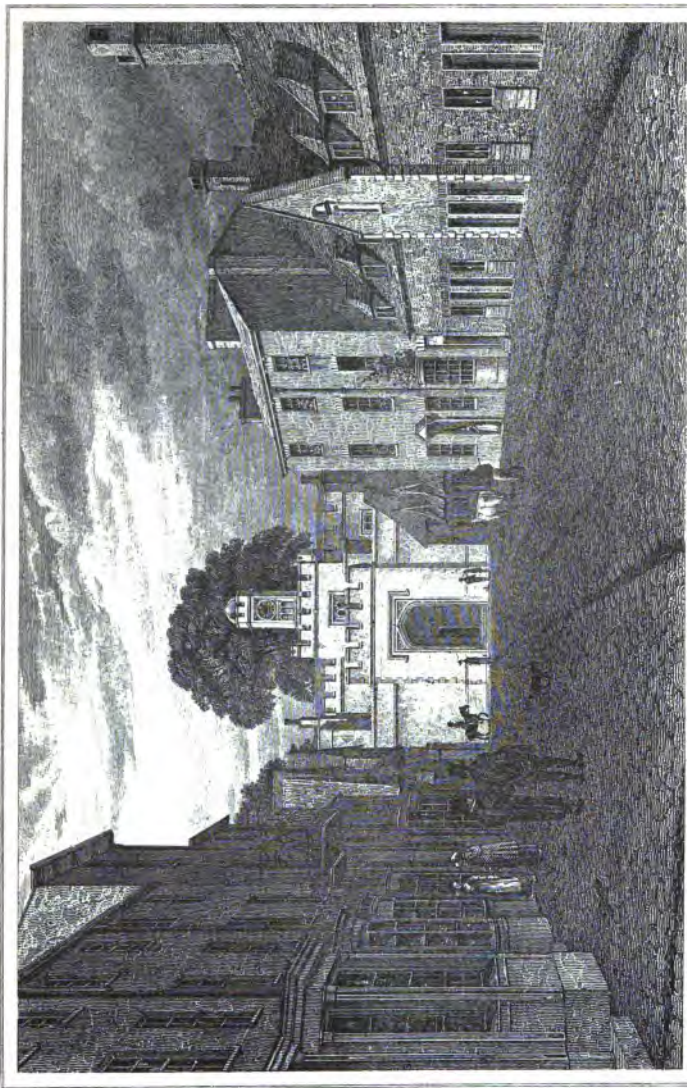
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Engraved by E. Pease.

RUGBY SCHOOL.

'STREET VIEW.'

*To Abraham Colclough Esq. this plate is respectfully dedicated
by his Obedient and affectionate humble servant E. Pease.*

Published by E. Pease Northampton, and Morley & Son, Coventry, Jan^y 1821.

As to the boarding-houses, the School House was built as such between 1809 and 1813. So was the house now occupied by Mr. Whitelaw, but not one of the other boarding-houses had been originally built as such, but alterations in and additions to them had been made in each. They were as follows:—Mr. Cropper's house, nearly opposite the School gates, was a boarding-house under Mrs. Bucknill. The draper's shop in the High Street next to Mr. Loverock's was a boarding-house kept by Mr. Philip Williams, surgeon, one of the medical attendants on the School. Next to this on the north side was another boarding-house kept by Mr. Gascoigne, for many years one of the churchwardens of the parish. In the Market Place the house and shops occupied by Mr. Walding, tailor, was a boarding-house kept by Mr. Townsend, a solicitor. A boarding house, kept by the Rev. Mr. Birch, one of the masters, occupied the site of the four westernmost almshouses of Lawrence Sheriff's foundation. Lloyds' Bank, opposite the churchyard, was a boarding-house kept by Mrs. Wratislaw. In School Street were two boarding-houses, one on the site of the new Schools, kept by Mr. Stanley, the writing master; the other, nearly opposite, Dr. Bloxam's, forming the block of buildings fronting School Street, and extending back to the Three Horse Shoes Inn, and now in the occupation of Mr. Brown and Mr. Loverock.

Even in the winter months locking-up was never before half-past six, and in the latter part of the winter half-year, when it became dark at half-past four o'clock, calling-over being at five, the inmates of the various boarding-houses were accustomed of their own accord to betake themselves immediately after calling-over to their warm hall and study fires. The streets were in a state of darkness, for Rugby was not then lighted, and the footpaths in the streets were not flagged. Everything, in fact, was in a very primitive condition.

During the great November horse fair, when the streets were thronged with horses, and there were no barriers to keep them off the footpaths, the boarding-houses being for the most part scattered over the town, such inmates of them as were in the First and Second Forms, who although they might be giants in literature,—a fact greatly to be doubted,—were certainly not so in size, were judiciously kept out of School and confined to their respective boarding-houses.

This rule, however, did not apply to the School House.

As to those houses where it did, I never heard of any grumbling by the inmates on account of their enforced captivity. They had no first lesson to get up, no lessons indeed at all to learn, and they contrived to pass away their time, as they well might, in perfect contentment, and the plan was most efficacious in succeeding to keep them out of harm's way.

In the middle of the half-year, as near as might be, viz., on the 20th of October, was kept what was called "Founder's Day." This day had nothing to do with any recorded incident in the lifetime of the founder, with his will, with that most important part of his testamentary devises, his codicil, or with his death or funeral. As far as I can recollect, it was simply a day fixed upon

as a matter of convenience to celebrate in the middle of the half-year a commemoration of the founder. It was not altogether a whole holiday, for although no lessons were required to be learnt, the whole school had to assemble in the forenoon in the great schoolroom, to hear a Latin essay commemorative of the founder delivered by the head foundationer, the essay itself having been previously written by one of the masters.

This was the last half-year in which the school attended divine service, on a Sunday, in the Parish Church. Even then the accommodation was so insufficient that one half of the School only attended in the morning, and the other half in the afternoon; the great schoolroom being used for the worship of those who were necessarily compelled to be absent from the church at the one or other period of the day. The school gallery was over the chancel, the latter a lowly structure, and the ventilation very imperfect. The junior boys sat at the back of the gallery, where they could hear little, and see nothing, as the height did not admit of the seats being raised one above another. In summer time the heat was sometimes intense, and I have heard of junior boys taking off their jackets for relief. I cannot say I ever saw this done, for I can only remember sitting in the gallery once, but I can easily imagine it. In general I sat in a master's pew in the body of the church. Many other boys likewise sat in masters' pews, or in those of the boarding-houses to which they belonged. At the conclusion of the service calling-over took place from the front row of the gallery, and boys answered to their names from all parts of the church. Such a fact would appear strange in the present day; it was then not considered of as unusual. On the last Sunday in the half-year, the organist, Mr. Jonathan Hewitt, played the "*Dulce Domum*" as a voluntary. In 1814, the Parish Church was considerably enlarged, but as it was in contemplation to build a chapel for the school, no provision was attempted to be made for the scholars, and from hence, until the chapel was finished and opened in 1820, the whole of the school attended divine service on a Sunday in the great schoolroom, one of the assistant masters officiating as chaplain.

As the half-year drew to a close there was no general examination, but speeches were delivered to the School by certain of the Fifth and Sixth Forms, chosen for their elocutionary powers, but not, at this season of the year, to the public.

On Saturday nights, some few weeks previous to the holidays, hall singing took place at the different boarding-houses, and every new boy was required to give a specimen of his vocal abilities. As, however, they had not the advantage of being under the tuition of Mr. Edwards, the vocal music was somewhat discordant. In these rude musical entertainments the Rugby *Dulce Domum* was not, as it is now, forgotten.

And now approached the close of the half-year and the eve of the vacation, when each boarding-house was wont to exhibit its taste in an illumination. Short lengths of tallow candles or dips from the allowance allotted to each study had been collected for some time previous, potatoes scooped out formed temporary

candlesticks, and a huge turnip, hollowed out so as to become transparent, became, with a light in it, a magnificent substitute for a lantern. Transparencies made by oiling one side of a coloured drawing or print were not wanting. But the illuminations did not last long: lighted about six o'clock the boarding-house yards were open till locking-up, half-past six, for such of the townspeople as pleased, without special invitation, to ramble in and view them. Next day the hall and studies were in a pretty pickle, as might be conceived, from the dripping of the tallow. This had to be cleaned up during the holidays.

The next morning at six o'clock, dark and comfortless as the morn might be, the breaking-up took place. After prayers in each boarding-house, the journey money was delivered out to each boy. There were then no railways for passengers; they had not in fact been thought of, except by some few enthusiasts in advance of their age, and they were laughed at as noodles. But at the commencement of the half-year it was customary for boys coming from the same part of the country to form parties to go home. One or other individual of these parties would early in the half-year write to different inns as it might be at Leicester, Lutterworth, Market Harborough, Northampton, Daventry, Southam, Warwick, and Coventry to secure chaises for the breaking-up. Rugby furnished its quota of two chaises, one from the George, the other from the Spread Eagle, the two inns in the town. There were no hotels in those days. Sometimes ludicrous events would occur. One young gentleman, of rather an eccentric turn, the secretary of a going-home party, wrote to an innkeeper at Leicester for a pair of horses: the horses duly arrived the evening before the breaking-up, and the postboy was very assiduous in his inquiries after Mr. Shand's carriage, but was unable to find it. How Mr. Shand and his party got on with his pair of horses, I never inquired and never learnt.

Two coaches with six horses each were chartered for London, the luggage was piled up to a fearful height, the seniors took their places outside, and happy was he who was fortunate enough to obtain the box seat near to the coachman. Had he not a chance of handling the ribbons? The juniors were crammed into the inside of the coach, so closely packed together that they had no room to fight, had they desired it. At some inn, three or four stages on the road, breakfast had been provided, to which ample justice was done, plenty of time being allowed, and at a later period of the day a dinner. I should not omit to state that pea-shooters, those obnoxious implements of irritation, were in general requisition.

But were there no boys left behind at Rugby during the holidays? Yes, a great many. Exclusive of foundationers or town boys, of themselves a numerous class, there were some twenty boarders, mainly from Ireland and Scotland. As to the former country, crossing the channel in the winter time was a matter of no small difficulty, exclusive of length of time. In stormy weather four or five days or even a week was sometimes occupied with the transit. The passage boats were cutter rigged,

and in a contrary wind had to tack and tack about. As to Scotland, there was no direct coach conveyance from Rugby to Edinburgh, which, providing all was well, one might possibly reach in three days. The cost of travelling by coach was no trifle, that of posting much more. Thus there remained at Rugby during the winter holidays no small body of boarders located at their different boarding-houses. Miserable beings you would perhaps imagine! Not so. They had no first lesson to get up to, they had no school at all to attend, they had the whole of their time to themselves, they were under no hard and fast regulations, except those of a domestic character, which they would have been equally subject to at home. Football in the Close every day for such as chose to play, except in very frosty weather, when there was sliding and skating round the island and on Bilton Pool, a piece of water two acres in extent, which was drained off only a few years ago. Sometimes a pack of harriers from Birdingbury Hall would meet and throw off at Bilton, giving them the opportunity of a run. Then there were evening parties in the town three or four times a week, to which all were invited, or if perchance anyone had not been invited, he did not see why he should not have been, and had no idea of being left out in the cold, and so he went with the others. And he met, on the part of his hosts, with no austere looks, but with the same friendly reception as those who had been formally invited, and so the holidays passed rapidly away.

I have known personally more than 20 Old Rugbeians who were at School upwards of 100 years ago. I have transacted legal business with one who was at school in the reign of George the Second, 125 years ago. When I was at school an old retired master of the school, Dr. Richmond, was alive, who was living in the mastership of the Rev. Henry Holyoak, master of Rugby School from 1687 to 1731, and Mr. Holyoak was alive in the lifetime of Mr. John Howkins, a nephew of the founder of the school. Lawrence Sheriff died in 1567, 316 years ago.

Such then are my reminiscences of Rugby School as it was 70 years ago: and in drawing a comparison between that time and the present, the contrast is immeasurably in your favour. The school library, as it was then, was not equal to one of your house libraries, and was accessible only to the Sixth Form. Newspapers were scarce and expensive, and many boys did not see one from the commencement of a half-year to its close. You have a reading room of no confined dimensions, not only well provided with the daily London papers, but with the chief periodicals in vogue, monthly and otherwise. We had nothing of the kind.

You have two school libraries, with numerous works on all subjects, both of reference as also of general reading, so as to suit the taste of each individual.

You have an Art Museum, of no ordinary type, replete with objects of study. You have also a museum of Natural History, to which you yourselves, as in duty bound, are the chief contributors. You are taught natural science. With the exception of a series of lectures in philosophy once in three years, which were voluntarily attended by more than half the school, we had no such advantage in my days.

You have a gymnasium and carpenters' workshop, in which you may be taught, if you please, the mystery of joiners' work. There was nothing of the kind in my time.

You have, by the liberality of a donor, the present Headmaster, a most capacious bath, in which you can learn to swim. We of old time had to resort to the river.

I need hardly proceed.

It is for you, whilst you are at school, not to undervalue such advantages, but to profit by them as far as you are able. Seventy years ago the pursuit of knowledge was indeed under difficulties. With you it is far otherwise. The Roman philosopher tells us that although all cannot be renowned, yet if life be well spent, though in a quiet and unobtrusive manner, old age will not fail to be calm and serene. You have before you rational pursuits, any one of which commenced now and followed up in your leisure hours, apart from your future professional occupations, will ensure you a degree of intellectual enjoyment which otherwise you may fail to obtain. Public School life is now not so long as in former times, and in a few short years you will be scattered all over the world, for there is hardly a clime in which one or more Old Rugbeians are not to be found. In your future lives then, and when you have left school, may you, severally, ever retain a grateful remembrance of and affection for your old school at Rugby; your old boarding-houses, and those therein who minister to your well-being and comfort; your old play-grounds; and last, not least, your old masters.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MY FIRST HALF-YEAR.*

Sundry dissertations on School dress having lately appeared in the *Meteor*, I may, I think, be permitted to describe, as far as my recollection will permit, the dress as it was in 1813. Knee breeches which had been previously worn by some then at School, were now entirely discarded, and trousers alone were worn. In summer these were often of a light kind of fabric, of a buff colour, called nankeen. Small boys in the first and second forms wore what was termed the skeleton dress, that was jacket and trousers only, the former close buttoned, the latter buttoning over the former; shirts frilled round the neck were then usual. In the early etchings of George Cruikshank, and in some of the early volumes of *Hood's Comic Annual*, we have illustrations of this kind of dress. In the intermediate forms the bobtail jacket was worn over the waistcoat, and could be close buttoned or not at the will of the wearer. In the upper forms the swallow-tail coat was worn. A

* *Meteor*, No. 134, April 9, 1879.

[NOTE. A series of Articles, entitled 'Recollections of My First Half-Year at Rugby School,' appeared in the *Meteor*, Nos. 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, in 1878 and 1879. Of these the first three cover much the same ground as the 'Personal Reminiscences,' and are therefore omitted. The last two are reprinted.]

bright blue or dark green cloth, with metal buttons, was in request, and sometimes a claret-coloured cloth. Hessian boots had well nigh disappeared, whilst Bluchers and Wellingtons were as yet unknown. One of the masters only continued to wear Hessian boots. These gave rise to a skit—

His boots, good man, though they give him great joy,
Seem to have been made—when Adam was a little boy.

The masters wore with their gowns the common steeple hats prevalent at the present day, Dr. Wooll, the Headmaster, alone wore the clerical hat, not unlike the hat of a Dean at the present time. Mr. Sleath, Master of the First Form, wore a cocked hat, the last of that fashion I remember seeing in Rugby. Wigs were fast disappearing, and were not retained by any masters in the School, but Dr. Wooll wore his hair powdered, and so did one or two of the older masters. College caps, as worn by the masters, first appeared in 1829, to the wonderment of the beholders. The loose sporting coat now so generally worn, was, I think, introduced between the years 1840 and 1850. In 1813 there was no special dress for football or cricket. White duck trousers were worn in the summer, sometimes so long together as to verify the quotation, "*Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo.*" A boy who was accustomed surreptitiously to milk the cow of a farmer, was discovered by the flapping of the cow's tail leaving sundry marks on his quondam white ducks, now no longer white. Caps and straw hats were *mala prohibita*, and the wearing of the common black hat was frequently dispensed with, except on a Sunday, when every boy was expected to wear one. One accomplishment was then taught as an extra, of which there is at the present day no reminder. The Dancing-Master who taught us the five positions, Scotch reels, and to "bow with a grace," had some fifty pupils. Mr. M'Korkell was the last Professor of Politeness, *i.e.*, "Dancing-Master," whose name appeared as such on the lists of Rugby School.

One of the staff, Mr. John Shaw Sale, entered the School as Assistant Writing Master in 1813; but whether in the first or second half of that year I cannot say. In 1829 he succeeded to the post of Writing Master, on the resignation of Mr. Stanley, who had been appointed in 1787. This post Mr. Sale retained to his death in 1869. The period during which he held the posts of Assistant Writing Mastership and Writing Mastership was fifty-six years. I think his name is still retained, though it must be admitted somewhat irreverently, in connection with a certain article of stationery supplied to the School. Mr. Sale died in June, 1869, in the 81st year of his age. I have a full-length photograph of him, taken on his 80th birthday. With regard to his duties, he was, whilst I was at school, one of the most punctual persons I ever knew, never behind his time.

I remember well,—I believe it was in my first half-year,—his giving the boys of the First and Second Forms five minutes' absence to go into the great Schoolroom, to see the *buffeting*. This was an ordeal undergone by boys going from the Upper Fourth Form to the

Upper Remove. The boys previously in the latter Form had their handkerchiefs tied into what were called Westminster knots, and the noviciates entering into that Form had to run the gauntlet a prescribed number of times up and down the Schoolroom, for the knot work inflictions were no trifles. Defensive armour, in the shape of old book covers, worn under the waistcoat, and other applicable dodges to lessen the force of the blows, were resorted to. It was, indeed, a barbarous custom, but how or when it originated I am unable to divine; but it, together with *chairing* and *clodding*—two other barbarous customs—was very properly put a stop to during my early career at Rugby School, and before I had reached the Second Form.

Certain apocryphal stories have been related of Mr. Sale, which are not only purely apocryphal and totally devoid of truth, but are completely contrary to his character. He was one of a retiring disposition, and by no means inclined to put himself forward.

I have still somewhat further to add in "a conclusion in which nothing is concluded," and in which I shall have to appear in borrowed plumes.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MY FIRST HALF-YEAR,

*continued.**

The countryman's story—the commencement of which was at the conclusion—reminds me of an event which took place very early in my first half-year at school, and which I ought to have noticed before.

This was the examination for exhibitions which, 65 years ago, took place *after* the summer holidays, and within the first week of the winter half-year. The Trustees, with some exceptions, were present, and during the examination, which lasted two days, the School, although so recently returned, had *two whole holidays*, very much to the satisfaction of all but those examined. An account of the examination in this my first half-year, August, 1813, has been detailed in a Poetical Epistle from one of the Examiners,—who, in after-life, as I shall show, "made his mark,"—to his aunt, and the following verses are the "borrowed plumes" I alluded to in my last article.

To Rugby, dear aunt, I set out to go down,
At five in the evening of Friday, from town;
From the Swan with Two Necks, in Lad-lane, I set out,
And a numerous party within and without.
I roof'd it myself, and it rain'd very hard,
But I laugh'd through the night at the jokes of the guard:
On my life, of all wits the completest and best,
Is the guard of that coach for original jest,
For free illustration of easy remark,
And all that enlivens a drive in the dark.
By six in the morning to Dunchurch we came,
To the sign of the Cow with the terrible name;

* *Meteor*, No. 135, May 20, 1879.

Here I hasten'd to bed, and slept soundly till four,
 Seven hours of good rest, or perchance somewhat more.
 Like the lark, or the nightingale rather, I rose,
 And put on my best suit of examining clothes.
 In my chariot and pair to the Doctor's I rode,
 And was kindly receiv'd at his courteous abode.
 That my story's detail may be thoroughly full,
 I must tell you the name of the Doctor is Wooll.
 Mrs. Wooll and her sister, the Doctor and I,—
 But to business of greater importance I fly.
 Our sermon on Sunday from good Mr. Sleath,
 Might have come from the lips of the Bishop of Meath ;
 But I thought it a custom exceedingly queer
 That the boys in the Church should cry out " we are here."
 For the muster roll's call'd, and I fancy for one,
 That it better had anywhere else have been done.
 And the organ, though rightly to fiddles prefer'd,
 Was the loudest and harshest I ever had heard.
 But this I pass over—for eager to praise,
 I banish all satire and spleen from my lays.
 Dr. Wooll and myself were in close *tête-à-tête*,
 How the Oxford Examiner could be so late,
 When he came in his gig, just in time to prevent
 My taking both places with perfect content.
 On Monday at nine our proceedings began,
 (Mr. ———, like myself, is a grave sort of man),
 And till four, the poor boys, with but small intermission,
 Were compell'd to write verses with speed and precision.
 On Tuesday, again, all the morning we sate,
 Trustees and Examiners deep in debate ;
 The latter in gowns like Inquisitors dress'd,
 In boots and in riding apparel the rest.
 The boys answer'd well every question we put,
 Till their books and our own with like pleasure were shut.
 Then we feasted on venison and capital fare,
 Lord Aylesford, our President, sat in the chair,
 And many of equal distinction were there.
 Sir Theophilus Biddulph, and Skipwith Sir Grey,
 (Lord Craven for some proper cause kept away),
 Lord Wentworth, Grimes, Digby, and Holbeach, Esquires,
 (The last, Mr. Trevor's old friend, and my sire's)
 Dr. Berkeley, and others—a company staunch
 As ever sat down to a pasty and haunch.
 For myself I was glad that our business was done,
 And some moments allow'd to good humour and fun ;
 But still better pleased, that the boys by their knowledge
 Had three of them gain'd exhibitions at College ;
 And beginning their race with some marks of renown,
 Might perchance to the goal with like honour go down.

The writer of this epistle was the late Rev. Francis Hodgson, sometime Provost of Eton College ; who the Oxford Examiner was I have not been able to ascertain. The "good Mr. Sleath" was at that time Master of the First Form, and also Curate of the Parish of Rugby. In 1814 he was elected to the High Mastership of St. Paul's School, London. It was then the custom to call over the names of the boys in the Parish Church on the conclusion of the service.

The boys alluded to as gaining exhibitions were—Mr. William Gilbee, entered at Rugby School in 1807, and Mr. William Stares-

more Marvin, entered at Rugby School in 1803, these were each elected Exhibitioners for 7 years; Mr. John Strange Dandridge, entered at Rugby School in 1803, elected Exhibitioner for 4 years, and Mr. Richard Waterfield, entered at Rugby School in 1809, elected Exhibitioner for 3 years.

The exhibitions, established by Act of Parliament in 1777, were of the value of £40. per annum each, but these, coupled with conditions as to residence at College, which was required to be eight months in the year, were rarely enjoyed for a longer period than was required for a B.A. degree to be taken, consequently there were often what were called broken Exhibitions of a less period than seven years each to be competed for.

HOW DID THEY GET TO SCHOOL?*

It is a problem very difficult to solve, how, two centuries ago, nay, even a century ago, boys were accustomed to come from a distance to Rugby School. The roads were intolerably bad, and the flying coach from Coventry to London, took, in the middle of the seventeenth century, four days to accomplish the journey, the night of one of which was spent at Hillmorton. A wonderful feat of horsemanship was that undertaken by Robert Catesby on the 5th of November, 1605, when, leaving London at 11 a.m., he was enabled, by means of relays of horses, to reach Ashby St Ledgers and Dunchurch on the same evening, and this in the winter season. It required, however, a guide to conduct a small party of horsemen from Rugby to Dunchurch the same day at nightfall. But I have to span over a considerable space of time. In February, 1776, William Heyrick, aged six years, came from Leicester to Rugby School. The journey took the whole of the day: he rode on horseback hither, seated on a pillow before a guide well acquainted with the quagmires and marshes on Duntun Heath, between Leicester and Lutterworth. Mr. Heyrick died in 1858, aged 88 years. An Old Rugbeian, who entered Rugby School in 1806, who is still living and is now in his 88th year, informed me, in a letter written a few months ago, that he remembered the arrival of a new boy, nine years of age, at School, the son of a Baronet in Staffordshire, who came riding to School, sitting on a pillion, behind his father's groom. This was in 1807. Now I think very few at the present day, of the age of fifty years and under, have ever seen a pillion. They were not uncommon in my younger days, but were then gradually giving place to vehicular conveyances. One who entered Rugby School in 1777, told me that in his time most of the boys rode to School on Welsh ponies. As they must have had someone to accompany them to take back the ponies, it is possible that saddle-bags may have been made use of to carry their clothes. I unfortunately did not inquire of him whether this was so. Ordinarily one postchaise only made its

* *Meteor*, No. 218, July 9, 1885.

appearance in Rugby, at the commencement of each scholastic half-year. This belonged to the landlord of the Wheat Sheaf, at Daventry, a noted inn on the London Road, and was employed to bring and take his two sons, William Clerk and John Clerk, to and from School. These entered the School in 1774. With one of these I have transacted business, and entered into chat with him about his School days.

Between 60 and 70 years ago, a strange vehicle, if it might be so called, a new invention, made its appearance in Rugby, brought hither by some commercial traveller, one of whose employers had evolved from his brain a discovery he was fain to hope would make his fortune. As far as my recollection enables me to describe this simple piece of mechanism, it consisted of a slender but sufficiently stout bar of wood, with a wheel at each end and a handle in front by means of which the first wheel could be turned from side to side. About midway on the bar a rude saddle was fixed; on this sat the occupant, with his feet dangling on the ground and pushing forwards the vehicle, on which he sat astride, with them. The exercise on a good and level road was capital, but there might be too much of a good thing, and in going up hill the work was as bad as the treadmill. This wondrous invention, as it was then considered, was let out to members of the School at one shilling per hour, and for a time this wooden Pegasus was in full employ, but after a time the novelty fell off. This high-flyer bore the high-flowing name of "the velocipede." It was, in fact, the precursor of the bicycle, which has, however, undergone as many improvements as the old locomotive four-wheeled steam engines, when they made their first appearance on the London and Birmingham Railway, as I remember them 50 years ago.

THE NINTH OF OCTOBER, 1809.*

It is opportune to look back upon old times, and let nothing remarkable escape us.

Shortly before eleven o'clock in the forenoon on the 9th of October, 1809, just 70 years ago, a procession issued from the then gates of Rugby School, of the then members of the School marching two and two, preceded by the Headmaster and accompanied by the other Masters. Of this procession I was an eye-witness, standing at the entry between the Elborow almshouses, then standing on the site of the present Rugby Town Hall. As an urchin, then under the age of four-and-a-half years, with pinafore on, I viewed this procession as it passed by with, as Barnaby Googe would say, "stareing eies." But what occasioned this procession? It was the Jubilee, or day of rejoicing, being the 50th anniversary of the accession of George the Third to the throne, and was celebrated as a holiday in most towns in the kingdom. The members of the School, thus marshalled, were on their way to the Parish Church, to divine service and a sermon. The proceedings

* *Meteor*, No. 140, Oct. 9, 1879.

at Rugby on this day were noticed in a provincial weekly newspaper, the *Northampton Mercury*, to my recollection, for I have mislaid the paragraph, as follows :—

“ At Rugby the day was observed much the same as in other places. It was pleasing to see the boys of the Rugby Charity School, dressed in their Sunday clothes, walking two and two to church, headed by their worthy preceptor, the Rev. I. Wooll.”

This paragraph was considered very much as a skit or laugh against the School, and was popularly, (whether rightly or wrongly I know not,) attributed to a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Rugby, between whom and the School there was a feud.

One of the favourite bathing-places in the river, much frequented by members of the School, was Langley's hole, called generally by abbreviation “Langley's.” As we emerge on the footpath to Newbold, through the archway under the Trent Valley Railway, we enter a field bounded by the river; near the south-west corner of this field was “Langley's.” The gentleman to whom I have alluded as the supposed author of the paragraph, had built a house of some pretension, as it was then considered, near the high road leading from Rugby to Newbold, and had planted for some width along the side of the road shrubs and trees to mask the road; the front of the house commanded a full view of the river, including Langley's hole. This being the case, bathing could no longer be permitted at this place, and due notice to that effect was given to the School. The notice was disregarded (there was no School Marshal in those days), and members of the School still continued to ramble down and bathe in this spot, though formally forbidden so to do by the School authorities. Finding his injunctions set at naught, this gentleman took a more effectual way of putting a stop to the aggressions carried on by using his undoubted right of thorning this part of the river. This put an effectual stop to the further bathing, and the School had to seek out fresh bathing-places where they could enjoy themselves without molestation. Perhaps the gentleman, right as he was, and *fortiter in re*, was not exactly *suaviter in modo*. Undoubtedly in the right, a little tact was wanting on his part. Members of the School thought they had a grievance, and he became unpopular; this, however, he very properly little heeded.

At this time boys not unfrequently continued at School ten or even twelve years, and traditions of a longer date were handed down than at the present time, keeping remembrance of any stirring event alive.

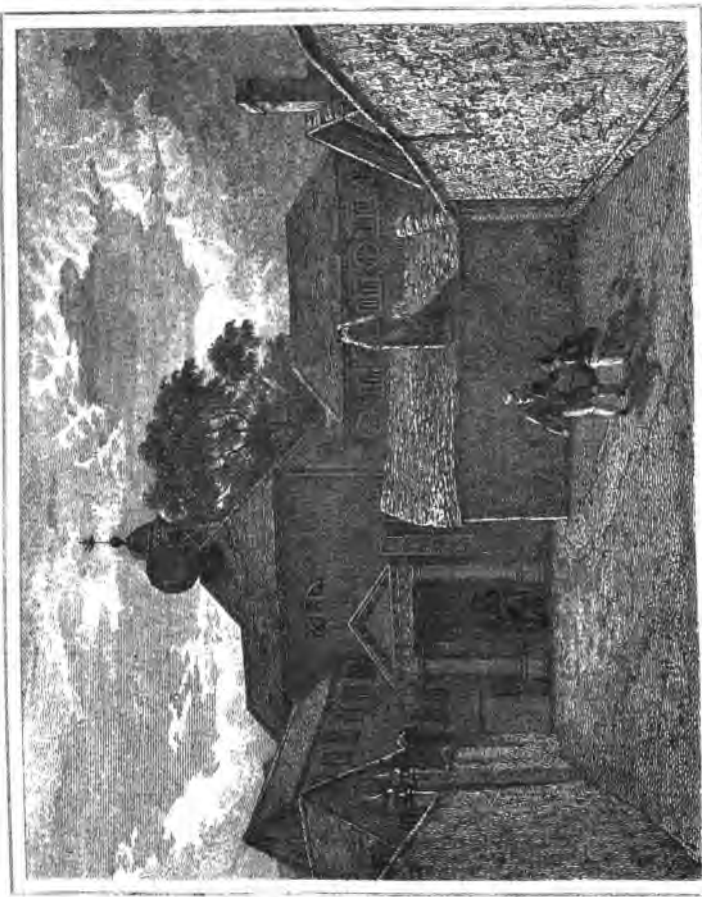
It was in 1808 that, on the suggestion of Dr. Wooll, the then Headmaster, two prizes were instituted by the Trustees of the School. Of these, one was a book value ten guineas for the best Latin Poem on a given subject, the other a book value six guineas for the best English Poem on a given subject. Up to the year 1820 these were the only prizes given away in the School, and were accordingly much considered of. The School runs, or paper chases, took place shortly after the Christmas holidays, and were continued till near Easter. One of these runs was called the Prize Poem Run, and it became customary for those who had gained the

Latin and English Verse prizes each to subscribe half-a-guinea ; for sovereigns and half-sovereigns, the gold coins so called, had not as yet made their appearance, and the two half-guineas thus contributed were supposed to be spent in beer at the public house where the kill was arranged to take place, this being the only time during the half-year that the kill did take place in a public house.

In the year 1815 the Latin prize was gained by Charles Alleyne Anstey, subsequently and for many years one of the assistant masters of Rugby School. The English prize was at the same time gained by Thomas Henry White, an English poet of no mean attainments, and who once stayed out of School a week,—which he being a præpostor could do without note or being inquired after,—to compose and write a certain Tragical Romance, of which the hero by name was one “Roberto di Pignotti.” These two contributed on that occasion the funds for the Prize Poem Run, the place signalled out for the death only known beforehand to such swells as the huntsman and whippers-in, who were high up in the School. A public house at Newbold was fixed upon for the hares to run to ; an unusual number of boys on that day went the whole run, for in general—though every fag was required to start unless he was excused by some præpostor—as many as pleased were allowed to tail off when they had got some half-mile or so, and but few were in at the death. On this occasion I, though in the First Form and under ten years of age, was in at the death, with about sixty others. Beer was brought out to us *ad libitum*, but the tap was not a commendable one, and somewhat forbidding in flavour. I dare say if the beer had been analysed in the present Rugby School Laboratory, indications of *cocculus indicus*, and other drugs, would with ease have been discovered. I had just a taste and it was quite enough for me,—the pump was inquired after. Some few who had rougher palates than others appeared to patronise the tap.

It soon became necessary to move homewards, to be in time for five o'clock calling over, and the announcement for that purpose was given. All set off for Rugby by the road, but about a quarter-of-a-mile from Newbold commenced the newly-formed plantation of the gentleman whose name in an invidious sense had been handed down. One unlucky youth first broke into this plantation and began to break a young sapling : others followed his example, and rushed through the plantation, breaking down the trees and spreading havoc ; in the course of a quarter-of-an-hour it was estimated that damage had been done to the extent of upwards of one hundred pounds. Now the curious feature in this case was that there was no premeditation : the whole originated from an individual, and he not one of the leaders of the run. They, indeed, with many of those who had been at the run, were quietly and gently running along the road, unconscious of what was taking place, except occasionally hearing the snapping of a sapling.

Of course there was a row. The matter could not be expected to end here. Due representations were made to the authorities, and all the præpostors, four or five, who were present at the run, gave themselves up as answerable for the misconduct which had



Engraved by J. G. Thompson

Printed by J. G. Thompson

ENTRANCE TO THE HALL

RUGBY SCHOOL, 1808.

*The Rev. & John Smith Esq. High Master of St. Mary's School London.
This Plate is respectfully dedicated by his humble servant J. G. Thompson*

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taken place; but this was not enough, a hecatomb was required to satisfy justice, and the præpostors were required by the Headmaster to give up the names of the wrong-doers. A levée of the præpostors was held, and they came to this conclusion: We will not give up the name of any boy against his will, but every fag who volunteers to have his name given up shall be excused from fagging during the rest of the half-year.

On this being promulgated, volunteers flocked to the front—more, indeed, than were required; of these some thirty were selected to undergo the meed of their exploits. The præpostors had long impositions, and had, in addition, to make an humble apology to the gentleman whose plantation had been destroyed. As to the thirty, they had impressed upon them sundry red lines, administered with due, not too great, severity. Some stoically inclined, or at least affecting to be so, bore their castigation like little Spartans. Others, who did not profess that philosophy, were fain to acknowledge that pain was an evil, the punishment inflicted being of such a nature as to elicit from them half suppressed notes, anything but those of admiration.

And thus ended the famous Prize Poem Run, the like of which has not since occurred, nor is likely to occur in the future.

THE SECOND TUESDAY IN JUNE.*

For some years prior to and including the year 1814, the second Tuesday in June was a joyous day for the School. It was the breaking-up day for the summer holidays. The Speeches, of which various rehearsals had taken place, commenced at 1 p.m.; they concluded about 3 p.m., when calling-over took place, and a rush was made to the chaises which thronged the town. For a few days previous the masters' desks were hooped over and embowered with evergreens and flowers, lilacs and laburnums figuring conspicuously; huge nosegays were placed on each desk as if to propitiate the strictness of rule, whilst a very harmless saturnalia was allowed in the embellishment of the last exercises, which were not too strictly scrutinized as to false quantities if in verse, or the rules of Syntax if in prose. Hall singing on Saturday nights, for a few weeks previous, was an institution, and the Rugby Domum was above all in requisition. This Domum, differing from that of Winchester, was in English, the music was very inspiring, and was played as a voluntary on the last Sunday of the half-year by Mr. Jonathan Hewitt, organist of the Parish Church up to the year 1814, and by Mr. Frank Marshall, the first organist of the School Chapel. The Rugby Domum was disused in Dr. Arnold's time, nigh 50 years ago. I have the only copy I know of in existence, and I now purpose to resuscitate it, as a retrospective review of what I fear would be otherwise lost—a loss only to be equalled, to Rugbeians, by that of the lost books of Livy or of the Annals of Tacitus.

* *Meteor*, No. 137, June 26, 1879.

The Winchester Domum commences :—

“Concinamus o sodales,” &c.

The Rugby Domum was as follows :—

“Let us now, my jovial fellows,
Shout aloud with youthful glee,
Sing sweet home and burn *libellos*,
Sing sweet home and liberty.

Chorus—Domum, Domum, Dulce Domum ;
Domum, Domum, Dulce Domum ;
Dulce, Dulce, Dulce Domum,
Dulce Domum, Resonemus.

“Now approaching School vacation,
Time of joy and dear delight,
Well rewards our application,
Does our labour well requite.
Domum, Domum, &c.

“Leave my muse, my books, my learning,
Study for a while forbear ;
Rest and ease and peace returning,
Leave my bosom, cruel Care.
Domum, Domum, &c.

“See the fields and meadows smiling,
Call us forth to rural play,
Philomela, songs beguiling,
Pass the tedious hours away,
Domum, Domum, &c.

“Coachmen, now make fast your traces,
Put your eager horses to,
Then for dear Mamma’s embraces,
Heigh, gee up ! and away we go.
Domum, Domum, &c.

“Every youthful heart rejoices,
Brings a morning star the day,
Then with songs and cheerful voices,
We’ll requite the time away.
Domum, Domum, &c.

“Sing a sweet melodious measure,
Wrapt enchanting lays around !
Home ! a theme repeat with pleasure,
Home ! a grateful theme resound.
Domum, Domum, &c.

“Let our men and steeds assemble,
Panting for the wide campaign :
Let the ground beneath us tremble
While we scour along the plain.
Domum, Domum, &c.

“Oh what raptures ! oh what blisses !
When we reach the lovely gate :
Mother’s arms and sister’s kisses,
There our bliss’d arrival wait.
Domum, Domum, &c.

“See the swallow seeks her dwelling,
And no longer loves to roam ;
Her example us impelling,
Let us seek our native home.
Domum, Domum, &c.”

I wish I could furnish the musical strains responding to the above, but my brother Henry, whose profile in chalk appears in the Art Museum, is not, and I know no one of whom I can obtain them.

The third line in the first stanza originally, and as I remember it 65 years ago, ran as follows:—

“Sing, old Rose, and burn the bellows,”

but, as this was what a fellow could not understand, it was subsequently altered as I have given it. It was, however, a real saying, originating from one George Rose, Esq., sometime M.P. for Christchurch, an elderly gentleman now defunct, who was equally celebrated for his vocal abilities and his wanton destruction of furniture when in a state of excitement. Such appears in a note to an edition of the “Ingoldsby Legends,” published in 1863. It has also been noticed in one of the early volumes of “Notes and Queries,” but I have been unable to find the passage.

THE SECOND TUESDAY IN JUNE, &c.*

For some years previous, I know not how many, and up to the year 1815, the breaking-up of the School for the Summer Vacation took place on the second Tuesday in June: I was present at the last of these occasions—that which occurred in 1814. The Great School, either for the first or second time since its erection, was fitted up purposely for the Speeches, well attended by several of the Trustees, and many of the county families. The Speeches commenced at one o'clock, and concluded about three, when the School was called over, and the several members rushed as expeditiously as they could to their several chaises; those for those going south, east, and west, being stationed in School Street, those for those going northwards being stationed in the Market Place and North Street. For a few days previous to the breaking-up, the masters' desks were dressed out with bowers of evergreens and flowers. The last exercises of the different forms were, according to a prevalent usage, embellished with coloured pictorial designs, some of them engravings, others drawings: these were permitted at the close of each half-year, and accounted for many a fault, as they were not so rigorously scrutinized by the Master's eye as at other times. It was indeed, to a certain extent, a kind of saturnalia. The meeting of the School took place towards the end of July, and in the first week of the winter half-year were two whole holidays, as the examination for exhibitions took place in the first week of the half-year, instead of the close of the preceding.

The chief sport in the Winter half-year, which commenced towards the close of July, was, as at the present day, football; but the game was very different, as the ball was not allowed to be taken up and run with. Besides football, hoops, marbles, and peg-tops had their votaries, not always confined to junior boys. In the year 1814

* *Metecor*, No. 230, June 26, 1886.

great changes, great reforms took place; clodding, buffeting, and charring, consequent on each boy's rise in the School, barbarous as they would be considered now, though not so then, were abolished. In the year 1814 the Parish Church at Rugby was enlarged, and the gallery over the chancel, appropriated to the School, was taken down, and the School thenceforth, and up to the year 1820, when the Chapel was consecrated, attended divine service of a Sunday in the great School. In 1815 the Speeches, and the breaking-up for the Midsummer holidays were altered: the former took place in the Easter week, and the latter in July. It was on the 18th of June in this year that the battle of Waterloo was fought: it was on a Sunday, and we received the news at Rugby on the Thursday following. Only three or four daily London papers were then taken in at Rugby. A fair number of Rugbeians, officers in the English army, were at Waterloo; of these, only one, General Whichcote, who entered Rugby School in 1803, 83 years ago, survives. I remember on one occasion seeing at the Speeches the celebrated Dr. Parr, who, as a Greek scholar, considered himself second only to Porson, the third being, according to his opinion, a master of Rugby School, the Rev. Philip Homer. Whilst I was at School—1813-21—a very favourite pursuit engaged the attention of many of the boys, that of horticulture on a small scale. Opposite the Close, on the west side of the road leading to Dunchurch, the land now covered with houses, and which I remember at an earlier period as a cornfield, was laid out in small plots of garden ground of different sizes, plots perhaps from twelve to twenty feet square. The rents of these, from Easter to the Midsummer holidays commencing in July, were from 5/- upwards, according to the size: a boy would sometimes have a plot to himself, two would often join. For esculents they would sow mustard and cress and radish seeds; they would also cultivate what flowers were come-at-able.

In 1816 the square pond, some yards north of the bath, was filled up. On the banks of this Walter Savage Landor was accustomed to lie and soliloquize—much in the same manner as Lord Byron did on his favourite tombstone in the churchyard at Harrow. At the same time, viz., in 1816, the moat surrounding the site of the Grange of the Monks of Pipewell was filled up. It is to be regretted excavations were not made at the time: many a relic of hoar antiquity—not, perhaps, of any intrinsic value—might have been preserved. Such are a few of the reminiscences of an octogenarian O.R.

TREEN'S TREE.

To Old Rugbeians up to the year 1818 no object in the School Close was of more interest than the famous elm, yclept "Treen's Tree," the site of which is now occupied by the western portion of the Chapel. It was the monarch of the elms in the Close, the only

tree which had a distinctive name. In the engraving of the old School published in 1811, from a drawing by Mr. Edward Pretty, the then Drawing Master, of the School—an excellent antiquary of his time, and a correct and delicate draughtsman—in 1809, this tree is depicted standing near the thatched and tiled barns, in requisition as schoolrooms during the building of the new School. I have failed in my endeavours to make out the origin of the name. I was in Sheep Street at the time it fell, in 1818, the fall being rendered necessary on account of the building of the Chapel, but the wood was employed in the panel-work of the vestry. The lines following were made on the fall of this once celebrated tree.

“ At last—and is it doom’d to thee,
And art thou fallen, old Treen’s Tree ?
And did not every virtue plead
To save thy consecrated shade,
Of all that have been nurs’d by thee,
Beneath thy classic arms, Treen’s Tree ?

When Avon’s banks, with hope and fear,
My blushing childhood ventured near,
Thou first didst bid its sorrows end,
And wert unto it as a friend,
And gav’st to Taste the simple glee,
That cheer’d thy spreading shade, Treen’s Tree.

The rapture can I e’er rehearse
When first I felt the power of verse !
The visions then ’twas thine to pour !
Till soon, my boyish summers o’er,
Ye neighbouring groves, bear witness ye,
I wept to leave Treen’s hallow’d Tree !

Then on thy bark together join’d,
My bosom friend our names entwinn’d,
As wondering what the world might be
We pledg’d to meet again by thee !
But now thy summit strews the plain,—
And we say—shall we meet again ?

Alas ! where thou no more art seen,
How fare the groves of academe !
How must their dewy teardrops fall
For thee, the father of them all !
Each rude-grav’d seat must mourn for thee,
And island’s echoes sigh ‘Treen’s Tree !’

With thee were form’d—with thee are fled—
Ties of the distant and the dead,
And many a former tale and token
Might cheer old hearts the world had broken !
Fond recollections join’d to thee !
Young loves and friendships, poor Treen’s Tree ! ”

The author of the foregoing lines was, I have reason to believe, the Rev. Francis Litchfield, sometime Incumbent of Farthinghoe, in the county of Northampton, and a gentleman well known in that county. He entered Rugby School at the age of twelve years in 1804, during the mastership of Dr. Ingles : when he left School I am unable to state. In after-life he took a deep interest in Rugby School. He died a few years ago at the age of 80 years and upwards. As a political writer, some 40 years ago, he was one who made his mark.



THE CROSS ON THE CHAPEL.

RUGBY SCHOOL CHAPEL.*



AWRENCE SHERIFFE, founder of Rugby School, by his will dated the 22nd day of July, 1567, amongst other bequests gave as follows :—

"Item, I Give and Bequeath to the parish church of St. Andrewes in the said towne of Rugby in the Countye of Warwicke the sum of five pounce to be bestowed therein and uppon the making of certain new pewes or setes in the said church and that uppon the dooers or endes of the same pewes or seates the

Grocers Arms of London shall be carved with alsoe the letters of L. and S. adjoineing thereunto."

In a petition† of certain of the principal inhabitants of Rugby, to Francis Lord Dunsmore, one of the Feoffees or Trustees of Rugby School, about the year 1643, an allusion is made to an intended "Schooles Gallery," which had been *delayned* by some. I cannot find that such gallery was ever erected. I am inclined to think it was not. In 1767 the Parish Church of Rugby was re-pewed. In a plan I have seen of the previous pewing, two square pews at the east end of the south aisle appear to have belonged to the School; and, in the re-pewing, the pew at the east end of the same aisle was appropriated to the Master of Rugby School. It was at this period, viz., in 1767, that the School Gallery, erected over the

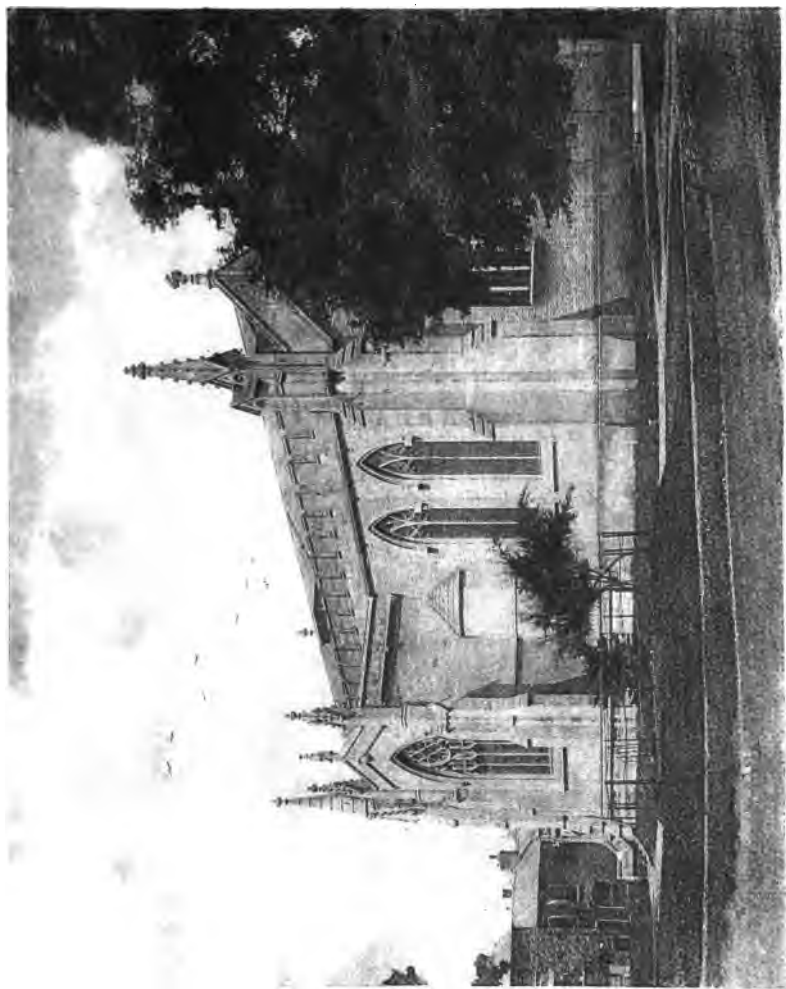
* *Leaflet*, No. 3, July, 1886.

† See p. 35.

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THE CHAPEL IN 1870.

chancel, was, I think, first built. Early in Dr. James' mastership, about the year 1778, it was enlarged. The School used to attend divine service in the Parish Church up to the close of the year 1813. Latterly, however, the Gallery was in size inadequate to hold even half of the School, and in consequence one-half of the School went in the morning, whilst the remainder attended in the afternoon; whilst the great School was used for divine service on a Sunday by the half of the School which did not attend service at the Church. The masters' pews, and the pews belonging to different boarding houses, were also utilized for the reception of boys, whose names were, on the conclusion of service, called over from the front row of the Gallery. The Parish Church was enlarged in 1814, but no provision was or could be made for the School, the members of which thenceforth, and up to the year 1820, attending divine service of a Sunday in the Great School, narrow strips of matting being laid between the benches for the boys to kneel upon.

In the Act of Parliament relating to the School, and passed in 1814, it was enacted:—

"That it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Trustees (*i.e.*, the Trustees of Rugby School) for the time being, or the major part of them, and they are hereby authorized and required, to erect and build, or cause to be erected and built, a Chapel for the Celebration of Divine Service, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, on any of the lands or grounds already holden or to be purchased, by the said Trustees, in trust, as aforesaid, and adjoining or near to the said School Buildings at Rugby aforesaid, and of such size and dimensions, and after such specifications, elevations, and models, and with such other Buildings and Conveniences thereto, and in such manner as the said Trustees, or the major part of them, shall deem right and proper, for the use and accommodation of the said boys of Rugby School aforesaid, and for other the purposes of the said Charity, and also to erect and set up in the said Chapel such pews, seats, galleries, bells, ornaments, and other Conveniences as the said Trustees, or the major part of them, shall deem right and proper. Provided, nevertheless, that all the expenses for erecting and completing the said Chapel shall not exceed the whole sum of eight thousand pounds, and it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Trustees, or the major part of them, also to enter into any contract or contracts for making, erecting, or keeping in repair the said Chapel, Buildings, and Conveniences thereto, or for furnishing materials or any other matters or things necessary for completing and maintaining the same."

RUGBY SCHOOL CHAPEL, *continued.**

Although the Act of Parliament enabling the Trustees of Rugby School to erect and furnish a Chapel for the use of that establishment, passed in 1814, four years or thereabouts elapsed ere the scheme was carried out, and the first stone at the north-east angle of the building was laid, if my remembrance be correct, by the Rev. Dr. Wooll, the then Headmaster, on the 20th October, 1818. I was present at the ceremony. The Chapel took two years in construction, and was consecrated and opened for divine service

* *Leaflet*, No. 8, March, 1887.

in 1820. The plan of the Chapel was a parallelogram, 90 feet long by 30 feet wide. A vestibule or ante-chapel occupied the west end; over this was the organ loft. The external entrance for the School was on the south side of the extreme western division. There was a western doorway, but as this was close to a platform, some feet higher than the road, to which there was no access, it was always closed. The Chapel was lighted on the south side by three windows, each divided into two principal lights by a mullion of good and proper proportions, with smaller lights, formed by vertical tracery, in the heads. The curvatures of the arched heads of these windows were graceful and effective; but when coloured glass was introduced the original mullions of the windows were



THE EAST END OF THE CHAPEL.

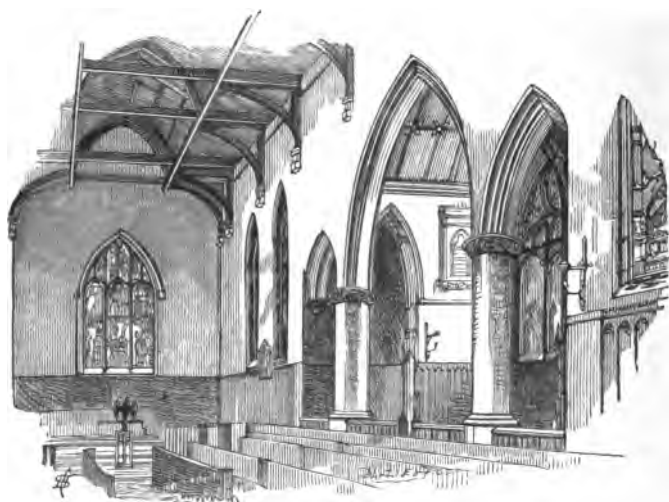
removed, and mullions of a wiry character, ill harmonising in proportion with the structural features of the windows, were substituted, the effect being poor and ungraceful. Towards the west and east on this side was a small single-light window, divided from the next largest window by a buttress of a somewhat heavy character. The north side presented an elevation somewhat similar to that of the south, with the exception of the addition of a turret and vestry, the latter adjoining the north-east corner of the Chapel. The west window was of three principal lights, divided by mullions, with vertical tracery in the head. The east window was similar to the west. The vestry was entered from the east through a buttress, an arrangement not to be commended. The brick-work of the walls

was good and solid, and in the composition of the mortar, on which so much in a building depends, no scant care was taken. White brick, with dressings of Attleborough stone, was the material used. Proceeding through the south door into the vestibule beneath the organ loft, and thence through the west door, the Chapel proper was entered. Here on either side was a canopied seat or stall, that on the south side for the Headmaster, that on the north for the Chaplain. Adjoining these on either side were three seats or stalls, not canopied, for other Masters, all of which faced the east. Looking from the middle of the Chapel westwards, the *ensemble* with the carved and panelled woodwork beneath and in front of the organ loft presented a pleasing appearance. The seats for the School were in four divisions, arranged choir-like as in a College Chapel. The pulpit was beyond these eastward, and on the south side, and as attention appears to have been paid to acoustic principles, the preacher could be clearly heard. At each angle at the east end was a square high panelled pew, that on the north side appropriated to the Headmaster, that on the south side for the other Masters and their families. The Communion table was unadorned, and during Dr. Wooll's mastership no attempt was made to introduce painted glass. The roof of the Chapel internally was flat and plastered, but coloured so as to resemble boards. It was divided into compartments by moulded beams. Altogether the old Chapel, though not without its faults, was in advance of its age. On the north side of the Chapel near the east end, resting on the floor and in its proper position, was the sculptured monument, by Chantry, to Dr. James, Headmaster of Rugby School from 1777 to 1794. This represented him in a side view, sitting and reading in his gown. The inscription beneath, by one of the most eminent of his pupils, could be read without difficulty. On the opposite side was the sculptured monument by the younger Westmacott, of Dr. Wooll, Headmaster from 1807 to 1828; the base of this also rested on the pavement, for which it was designed, with the inscription beneath the sculpture, by the most talented of his pupils, placed so that it could be read. It reflects, methinks, little credit on those who, at a subsequent period, caused these monuments to be hoisted up aloft and placed as mere plaques of sculptured bas-relief, incapable of being examined, and of the inscriptions being read. As a subscriber to one of these, and a son of a subscriber to the other, I may fairly protest against such wanton acts of barbarism. The walls of the old Chapel were not devoid of architectural designs in the shape of mural monuments. Of these I shall confine myself to the notice of two only, all that were placed here in Dr. Wooll's time. Of these, the one was placed against the south wall of the Chapel, commemorative of Edmund Lally, who at the early age of twelve years was accidentally killed by a fall from one of the Close trees, which he had climbed to sit and read. Although so young he had the peculiar talent of employing a pencil in taking the likenesses of some of his school-fellows, and bid fair, had he been spared, to have become a talented artist. The other monument, architecturally designed and a memorial subscribed for by his pupils, was in remembrance of

the Rev. George Loggin, Chaplain to the School and Master of the Fifth Form, well known to all Rugbeians of his day. He died at the age of forty. Both he and Lally died in the same year, 1824.

Beyond these mural monuments, no attempt was made during the mastership of Dr. Wooll to alter the original internal appearance of the Chapel.

In Dr. Arnold's mastership considerable attempts were made in the internal ornamentation of the Chapel. The most noticeable of these attempts was the introduction in the east window of some fine painted glass from the church of Aerschot, near Louvain. This was the gift of the Masters, and purchased by them, and placed here in 1834. It represents the adoration of the Magi, and



THE CHAPEL, SEEN FROM THE WEST END.*

we rarely come across so fine a specimen of painted glass in the style of the Renaissance. It reminds one of the German School of Art, of Albert Durer, and may reasonably be supposed to have been designed by him or one of his pupils. The three kings are represented in the royal costume of the time of Francis the First, and it is well worth profound study. Other windows were filled with painted glass in Dr. Arnold's mastership, but these are not of a character to require remark. A pair of bronze-gilt altar candlesticks of the seventeenth century, were given by one of the Masters, and an altar painting, after Morales, of Christ bearing His Cross, was the gift of an Old Rugbeian. The walls of the Chapel were further decorated by mural monuments of carved architectural

* This wood-cut represents the Chapel at a later period than that referred to in this Article, viz., in or about the year 1856, the side-chapel on the South having been built in 1851, and the roof altered in 1852.

design. At Dr. Arnold's suggestion a vault was excavated beneath the flooring of the Chapel, destined to receive the remains of some of those who had died at School. Some four or five burials here took place, but after Dr. Arnold's mastership the vault was filled up, the mural monuments on the walls removed, the inscribed tablets being alone retained. An alteration of the roof was projected by Dr. Arnold, and designs made for that purpose, but the project was not carried out, nor was any enlargement of the Chapel effected till some years after Dr. Arnold's death. And here I must stop, my aim having been to treat of the original Chapel, and of that only. Not three-quarters of a century has elapsed since the first stone was laid, and now, with the exception of a few fragments of brickwork near the west end, the whole of the original structure has been swept away.

THE CLOCK TOWER.*

It is hardly necessary to inform the readers of "The Leaflet" that the clock tower of the School forms part of the original block of buildings, comprising the School House and Schools round the quadrangle, commenced on the site of the former School House and Schools, in 1809, and finished in 1813. After that period, with the exception of the south cloister, built of stone about the year 1814, a pause for some years took place before further building operations. Originally the clock could be seen from the High Street, as the Headmaster's School over the gateway into the quad was not erected until about the year 1830. The clock tower formed part of the School House, the lower story forming the vestibule into the School House hall. Little more can be said of it, but that the upper story formed, for upwards of 40 years, the shrine, if it may be permitted to use that term, for the reception of the collection of books left, upwards of 150 years ago, by the Rev. Henry Holyoak, to the School. The peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Holyoak was elected Master of Rugby School, in 1687, are historical. A chaplain at Magdalen College, Oxford, Mr. Holyoak was, with the Fellows of that College, ejected in 1687, by order of James the Second, under circumstances well known to every reader of English history. Of a Warwickshire family, he returned to his native county, and a vacancy having occurred in the mastership of Rugby School, he was elected by the then Trustees of the School to that post. There is, indeed, no record of the fact, but probably we may not be wrong in attributing his appointment as a silent protest against the proceedings of the King towards Magdalen College. In 1688 Mr. Holyoak and the ejected Fellows were formally re-admitted to their several positions at Magdalen College by order of the King, though too late to save his crown. Though Mr. Holyoak continued in the list of Chaplains at Magdalen College for some time after his formal re-admission, he appears to have made his choice to stay at

* *Leaflet*, No. 8, Dec. 1884.

Rugby as Master of the School. His sway over the latter continued, indeed, for 44 years, and here he died in harness. Shortly before his death, viz., on the 11th February, A.D. 1730-31, he executed his will. In it occurs the following bequest :—

“I do also leave to the Schole of Rugby all my bookes, and the two pictures of my Grandfather and Father.”

The latter were noted lexicographers, and completed the Latin Dictionary known as “Lyttleton’s Dictionary.” Mr. Holyoak’s will was proved on the 27th of March, 1731, so that he died soon after its execution. What became of the portraits of his grandfather and father does not appear. For upwards of 130 years after his death, his books were considered as a sacred trust, kept by themselves, and the *custos* for the time being was the Master of Rugby School. During Dr. Wooll’s mastership, on the rebuilding of the School House and Schools, they were carefully deposited in the clock tower. There they remained till sometime between 1858 and 1870, when they were dispersed and got rid of, in a somewhat secret and surreptitious manner, by what authority remains to be disclosed. From one who remembered seeing them, we learn that they filled about half-a-dozen shelves, numbering perhaps from 100 to 150 volumes. Of what works these books consisted it is difficult to say, old editions, probably, of the classics, which might give an idea of the curriculum of Rugby School during Mr. Holyoak’s mastership. We might expect to find amongst them a copy of “Lyttleton’s Dictionary,” and it is believed that the collection contained an edition of the Latin Vulgate, with the gloss of Lyra (the famous commentator of the 13th century), printed in the 15th century. One can hardly refrain from commenting strongly on such an act of spoliation. Even on the supposition that they were of little intrinsic value, taking the books severally, it may be remarked that they were a gift from one of the most noted of the early masters of Rugby School, and the fact that there was such a gift ought not to be left in oblivion. One may then look at the clock tower as a reminder of the past, and as having, for perhaps 60 years, contained the legacy of Henry Holyoak to Rugby School, the loss of which has caused a void more than regrettable.

RUGBY SCHOOL CLOSE.*

A Paper read at a Meeting of the Rugby School Natural History Society, on Saturday evening, the 16th day of March, 1878, by Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, Honorary Member of that Society, and O.R.

When Cowper, the poet of Olney, who received his education at Westminster School, wrote his “Tirocinium, or ‘A Review of Schools,’” being a tirade against schools in general, Public Schools in particular, he excepts from his censure their playgrounds :—

* *Meteor*, No. 122, March 28, 1878.

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THE SCHOOL BUILDINGS FROM THE CLOSE, 1870.

Be it a weakness, it deserves some praise;
 We love the playground of our early days;
 The scene is touching, and the heart is stone
 That feels not at that sight, and feels at none.
 The wall on which we tried our graving skill,
 The very name we carved subsisting still;
 The bench on which we sat while deep employed,
 Tho' mangled, hack'd, and hew'd, yet not destroyed;
 The little ones, unbutton'd, glowing hot,
 Playing our games, and on the very spot;
 As happy as we once to kneel and draw
 The chalky ring, and knuckle down at taw;
 To pitch the ball into the grounded hat,
 Or drive it devious with a dext'rous pat;
 The pleasing spectacle at once excites
 Such recollection of our own delights,
 That, viewing it, we seem almost t'obtain,
 Our innocent, sweet, simple years again.
 This fond attachment to the well-known place,
 Whence first we started into life's long race,
 Maintains its hold with such unfailing sway,
 We feel it ev'n in age and at our latest day.

Of the playgrounds of our Public Schools some few are worthy of attention from the historic reminiscences attached to them. That crypt-like apology for a playground beneath St. Paul's School, London, east of the Cathedral, is on the site of the choir of the old cathedral, destroyed by fire in 1666. The playground of Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street, London, is on the site of the ancient cemetery garth, or burial place of the large church of the Grey Friars, destroyed by fire in 1666. In this church, or in the cemetery adjoining, Lawrence Sheriff, Founder of Rugby School, was buried. The Carthusians of the old Charter House School, were accustomed, some of them, to grave their names on the stone work. On the recent removal of that school into the country, these engraved memorials, thus alluded to by Cowper, were removed to the new school, and preserved. When Wintonians, from their very circumscribed playground, within the precincts of the college, went to Hills (I believe this is no longer customary) their playground was the site of an ancient British fortified oppidum, the *Venta Belgarum*. Eton lies under the shadow of Windsor Castle, anciently a British frontier fortress of the tribe of the Regni, and has been the subject of one of Gray's poetical effusions, whilst (giving my authority from a personal investigation what weight it may deserve), the left wing of Cæsar's army, preparatory to his crossing the Thames at Cowey Stakes, was posted in the now playground of a well known private classical school at Weybridge, kept by Dr. Spiers, a school from which Rugby has received some of her recruits. Of the playground of another private school I may say a few words, because it is a school which for many years past has from time to time furnished a contingent to Rugby School. I allude to that school at East Sheen, over which Mr. Waterfield worthily presides. Both the School and the Master must, I think, be familiar with some of you, at least some now at Rugby. The playground anciently formed part of the possession of the Monks of Sheen. In the latter part of the 17th century it was in the

possession of an eminent philosopher and statesman, Sir William Temple, who was here visited by King William III. Here Swift, the celebrated Dean of St. Patrick's, was a constant visitor, and amidst these academic groves it is possible the idea of those celebrated travels of Captain Lemuel Gulliver may have originated. In my early days these travels were perused with more avidity than I think they are at present, and our juvenile ideas were very much akin to those of the old lady who, having read them, declared confidently to a female friend, she would never have believed there were such little people in the world as the Lilliputians if she had not read of them in print.

Your playground at Rugby can boast of both ancient and medieval reminiscences, and not a few historic incidents of later days. The mound on the east side is an ancient British barrow or tumulus, in its original state not unlike that on the outskirts of the town on the left of the road leading to Lawford. Of the change



THE THREE TREES AND THE ISLAND.

which in the medieval times took place with respect to this tumulus, I shall presently speak. It was used for a two-fold purpose, first as a burial place for some warrior or chieftain of the tribe of the Dobuni, a place "where bones of mighty men of old lie hid," accompanied with rude specimens of fictile ware, like those I now produce, and which were found in cutting through a tumulus a short distance west of Brandon Station, in making the railway between Rugby and Coventry, perhaps also with an ancient brass dagger, like that I now exhibit, and which was found a little way down the Lawford Road, about two hundred yards west of the tumulus there. Secondly, the tumulus in your playground was anciently used for a military purpose, as an advanced post for videttes on the northern frontier of the tribe of the Dobuni, for anciently the river Avon, near Rugby, and indeed from its source, formed the barrier or line of demarcation, between the tribes of the Dobuni and Coritani;

and though the Avon, by the drainage of the meadows on either side, is now limited in its course, and except in times of unusual flood, limited to its banks, in ancient times that river as well as the river Swift, with their morasses on each side, formed no contemptible barriers to any hostile incursion. For with the ancient fortified British oppidum at Brownsover, and the fortified post at Brinklow, both frontier fortresses of the Coritani, on the right bank of the river, it became necessary to keep guard on this, the left side of the Avon, and this was effected by means of a series of tumuli, connected with each other between the ancient British trackway, the Foss road (I am limiting myself to this immediate neighbourhood), and the ancient British trackway the Watling Street, both of which were subsequently utilized by the Romans, and formed into Roman roads. If we take the tumulus on high ground near the Foss road at Wolston, we shall find it communicate with one at Church Lawford, that, with perhaps one intervening, with the tumulus in the Lawford road, that with the tumulus in your playground, that with the tumulus at Hillmorton, near the vicarage, in a field formerly used as a playground for Mr. Darnell's pupils, when he kept a school at Hillmorton, from which Rugby was fairly recruited, and that with the British outpost near Lilbourne. Thence a series of tumuli, connected with each other carried the communication down the Watling Street to the ancient and extensive British Fortress, three miles in circumference, on Borough Hill, near Daventry, the *Beneventa Romanorum*.

There is a passage in Cæsar bearing on the ancient mode of telegraphic communication used in Gaul, and no doubt in Britain also. For, treating of the Gauls, he says :—

"Celeriter ad omnes Galliæ civitates fama perfertur; nam ubi major atque illustrior res incidit, clamore per agros regionesque significant, hunc alii deinceps excipiunt, et proximis tradunt, ut tunc accidit. Nam quæ Genabi oriente sole gesta essent, ante primam confectam vigiliam, in finibus Arvernorum audita sunt, quod spatium est milium passuum circiter CLX." (B.G. vii. 3.)

"They convey intelligence," says Cæsar, "with great celerity through the fields and cantons by shouting with all their might; thus the intelligence is communicated from one to another, so that what happened at Orleans at sunrise was known at Auverne before nine in the evening, though the one place is one hundred and sixty miles from the other."

Now this running must have been from post to post, from tumulus to tumulus, a kind of ancient hue and cry. You, too, have your runs, the Crick run in particular. Has it ever occurred to you that the ancient Britains had their military runs, one from the tumulus in your playground to that at Hillmorton, thence to Lilbourne and down the Watling Street southward? I wot not.

Sometimes intelligence, not of a very precise kind, was conveyed by these tumuli being made beacons, by the light thereon of a fire at night, by the smoke of a fire by day; and this system was in use so recently as the civil wars in the seventeenth century. A British tumulus in the vicarage grounds at Monks Kirby, was, as we well know, then used as a beacon.

I know not of any Roman remains which have ever been found in your playground, but not far from thence, on my own premises, some sixty years ago, a bronze finger hoop ring, with a Greek inscription on the inside, "Esunera Eunaiske," was found. Two and forty years ago I gave a description of this ring, in an article I wrote in the then Rugby Magazine.* This ring I take to be an Annulus Nuptialis, with an appropriate significant poesy. Some thirty years ago, not far from the spot where this ring was found, and on the site of my swimming bath, a small bronze hammer was found, which I consider to be of Romano-British workmanship, both this and the ring being the only antiquities of the Roman era I know to have been found at Rugby.

Ages waned: some 1300 or 1400 years had elapsed, and now civil wars blighted the land, violence was rife, and marauders were numerous. It was owing to these causes that in many country parishes certain places were formed simply for defensive purposes, not for aggression, by moated areas, to which in time of danger the inhabitants of the place could for a while resort. Now we have no undoubted historic reminiscences that I am aware of, connected with these moated areas. They are very numerous. In this, the county of Warwick, there are no less than one hundred. In the absence, then, of direct historic information, I would place the introduction of these moated areas, one of which formerly existed in your playground (I well remember it), either in the time of the intestine wars between Stephen and the Empress Maud, or between King John and the barons, or between King Henry III. and the barons, that is in some period in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, formed not as strongholds, but merely for defensive purposes against temporary marauders, and sudden aggression.

I think it probable that this moated area in your playground may have been formed after that dire march of Louis of France, in the first year of the reign of Henry III., A.D., 1217, with 600 Knights and 20,000 men, from London to Mount Sorrel, in Leicestershire, which march is thus described by Roger of Wendover, a contemporary historian:—

* *Rugby Magazine*, Vol. II., p. 70, (A.D. 1836). "We have stated that no Roman antiquities have, to our knowledge, been discovered at Rugby; yet one solitary relic should, perhaps be excepted, for an ancient bronze finger ring, bearing a *Greek* inscription, was, a few years back, found at some depth in the earth in a homestead adjoining the town. This ring is hoop-fashioned and plain, and contains on the inner surface the words,

ΕΣΥΝΕΡΑ ΕΥΝΑΙΟΧΕ,

apparently a matrimonial allusion. The only probable account we can give of this ring, which is, however, purely hypothetical, is, that it was lost by some Roman soldier, and perhaps by one who served in the army of Ostorius Scapula, for the forces of that commander occupied for a season different stations on the southern banks of the Avon, of which stations Rugby, lying equidistant between the two trackways, the Watling Street and the Foss road, and opposite the British fortress at Brownsover, may have been an advanced post, thereby tending to keep up the communication on the south side the river between those two roads, on which it is probable that Ostorius marched his troops when proceeding to cross the once boundary stream of Roman acquisition."

"Ruptarii vero et prædones nequissimi de regno Francorum villas in gyrum perlustrantes ecclesiis et cœmeteriis non parcebant, quin omne genus hominum caperent et spoliarent.....Barones itaque cum, cunctis cœmeteriis et ecclesiis omnibus more solito per viam spoliatis ad castellum de Montsorrell pervenissent....." (*Chronica*, Vol. iv., pp. 15, 17.)

These wicked French freebooters and robbers roved through the towns around them, sparing neither churches nor cemeteries, and made prisoners of the inhabitants of all ranks, spoiling them. First they marched from London to St. Albans, pillaging all the places they passed. They arrived at Dunstable, and then went northward. Of their route from Dunstable to Mount Sorrell we have no particulars. Their direct road would be up the Watling Street, to within a short distance, some three miles, from Rugby. As their commissariat was derived from pillage, it is probable that Rugby was not excepted.

That these moated areas were in after times needed from bands of robbers and murderers, so late as the close of the 15th century, is evident from what John Rouse, the Warwickshire Antiquary, who flourished in the latter part of the 15th century (he died in 1491), in his "*Historia Regum Angliæ*," described of a place very near one of your runs—the Thurlaston run. Speaking of that part of Causton near the Avenue where Dunchurch Railway Station is, he thus describes it:

"Causton super Dunnismore, in parochia de Dunchurch, olim erat villa, sed nunc est solum grangia abbatis de Pypwell, ex dono comitum Warwici, et modo est spelunca latronum et homicidarum. De lucro clausuræ gaudent monachi, sed de furto ibi per clausuram illam commisso tristantur dispoliati. Vox sanguinis ibi occisorum et mutulorum vindictam annuatim clamat ad Deum. Via periculosa est, et est alta et communis via inter civitatem Londoniarum et civitatem Coventrensem."

"Causton-on-Dunsmore, in the parish of Dunchurch, was formerly a town, but now is only a Grange of the Abbott of Pypwell, of the gift of the Earles of Warwick, and is now a den of robbers and murderers. The monks rejoiced at the gain they got by the inclosure. But for the robberies there committed through that inclosure, those who were robbed had cause to grieve. The voice of blood from those killed or mutilated yearly cries to God for vengeance. The way is very dangerous, and it is the common highway between the city of London and the city of Coventry."

The Monks of the great Cistercian Abbey of Pipewell, in Northamptonshire, founded in 1143, were possessed of certain lands at Rugby, granted to them by Henry de Rokeby, in the reign of Henry II. Here they had a Grange; that was, I think, first near the church, where the Rectory house stands, and which was anciently moated round. I well remember a portion of the moat on the east side.

In the latter part of the 13th century, the Grange was removed to another site by Andrew de Roywell, then Cellarer of the Abbey, but afterwards Abbot from A.D. 1298 to A.D. 1308. The site of this Grange was in your playground; I well remember the moated

area within which it was placed ; it was filled up, I think, in or about the year 1816. I have it laid down on a plan made in 1749-50. As fish was a necessary article of food on fast days, the Monks surrounded the ancient tumulus in the close with a moat, throwing the earth inwards and enlarging the space. This moat was, in my remembrance, filled with clear limpid water from the land springs in the upper strata of the gravel, the moat round the Grange was filled from the same source, and so was the square pool, as it was called, near the old bath. These formed stews for fish.

When Henry VI. marched with his army from Coventry to Northampton, in 1460, just before, to him, that disastrous battle, his most direct route would have been through Rugby. Such, probably, was the route he took ; if so, there would be a fair inference that he stopped here for a while, and if so, where should he stop but at the Grange of the Monks of Pipewell? Surely you



THE CLOSE, FROM THE DUNCHURCH ROAD.

may imagine your playground has been traversed by "Henry's holy shade." He was, as you may recollect, the Founder of Eton College.

It was at this Grange, and from the monks sent thither from Pipewell, that I can well imagine Lawrence Sheriff to have received, in early life, at the commencement of the 16th century, his education. Then came, about the year 1538-9, the dissolution and suppression of the monasteries ; to whom the property of the Monks of Pipewell in Rugby passed, I have at present no means of ascertaining.

In the depositions taken at Daventry, a few days after the eventful Fifth of November, 1605, we find one Bennett Leeson, of Ledgers Ashby, deposing that he accompanied, as guide from Dunchurch to Rugby, one Bates, Mr. Catesby's man ; that at the Bailiff's house at Rugby he met with nine persons who were very

well mounted, and who went with him and Bates to Dunchurch. Now I believe the Bailiff's house to have been where the School House now stands, and where this meeting of Recusants, as they were called, took place.

In August, 1642, Captain John Smith was quartered in Rugby, probably in the best house of the place, on the site now occupied by the School House; hence the expedition to Kilsby, one of the first incidents of the Civil War.

In 1645, a few weeks before the battle of Naseby, Lieutenant-General Cromwell (Oliver Cromwell) came to Rugby from Northampton with 1500 horse and two Regiments of foot, and quartered at Rugby that night, on his route to Coventry. This was on the 30th of March, 1645, and where should he lodge but at "the Big House at the end of the town," whilst his Ironsides would probably bivouac in your playground?

In 1690, William III. passed through Rugby from Northampton on the 7th of June, on his way to take the command of the army in Ireland. We know from tradition he rested here, and where should he alight but at "the Big House at the end of the town," on the site of the present School House?

In 1749-50 the Trustees of Rugby School purchased the mansion which stood on the site of the present School House, and eight acres of land adjoining of old inclosure. These were surrounded on the east, south, and west by the open and common field land. In 1750 the Schoolroom, with the semi-circular front on the south, was erected. On the inclosure of 1774 eight acres of land, containing the southern portion of the close, were allotted to the Trustees in lieu of two cottage commons they possessed, the value of which was £146. In 1778 an additional Schoolroom was erected to the west of the former Schoolroom. The rebuilding of the School House and Schools occupied four years, from 1809 to 1813. In 1818-20 the Chapel was built. In or about the year 1840, the Dowager Queen Adelaide visited this playground and witnessed a football match.

To conclude, In the course of a few years, perhaps five at the outside, you, one and all, will have completed your studies at Rugby School, and have entered on the stern battle of life. You will be dispersed perhaps most widely, and in all quarters of the globe. Some of you will pass into the Army, some into the Church, some into the professions of Law and Physic, whilst some of you will be engaged in various mercantile pursuits. You, some of you at least, may from time to time revisit Rugby, others of you, like Sir Ralph Abercromby, though desirous, may be unable so to do. There is, however, one thing I may fairly predict of you all, severally and collectively, which is, that in future life you will never forget your old school at Rugby, that you will never forget your old playground.

FOOTBALL AND ATHLETICS.*

"I once the famous Spaine did see,
A nation glorious for her gravitie."

* * * * *

"Foote-ball with us, may be with them Balloone,†
As they at Tilt, so wee att Quintain runne,
And those old pastimes relish best with mee,
That have least art, and more simplicitie."

Michael Drayton, *Annalia Dubrensia*, ed. 1636.

A leading article in the *Times* newspaper, the leading journal of Europe, a few weeks past, on the Rugby School Football Rules and Play, as contrasted with the Association Rules, has prompted me to write a few words on the game of football, as played at Rugby in my time, 1813-20. The last time I played at Bigside in the Close was just 60 years ago, and my recollections of the game extend to 67 years.

When I was entered at the School, after the summer holidays of 1813, a considerable portion of the Close south of the wall of the Headmaster's garden, was parted off by a paling and the space thus enclosed filled with the *débris* of building materials, for the School House and School buildings, as originally designed, were just finished. A range of barns, partly tiled, partly thatched, adjoining the Dunchurch Road, fitted up temporarily as School-rooms, were in existence and used as such, and near to these stood the famous "Treen's Tree." The published views of the Schools, sheds and buildings, as they appeared in 1809, we owe to Mr. Edward Pretty, then the Drawing Master of the School. He was one who did much for the School in preserving its features as it existed in 1809, and subsequently as the new Schools were gradually engrafted on the site of the old Schools. I think, therefore, that his memory ought to be preserved and not consigned to oblivion. He failed from want of patronage to complete a work he had commenced on the History of the School, the credit of which has been given to another.

In 1813 the available space for the playground was not more than four acres at the most. There was an island, the mound is still existing but the moat is gone, and the appearance altogether sadly altered from the past, and not for the better. The island was in a separate field from the Close, and the southern part of the present Close was divided into fields, and formed a small dairy farm. Cricket and Football at Bigside were played at the north-west corner of the Close, adjoining the Dunchurch Road. One of the goals was erected on the site of the Chapel, not then in existence.

When preparations for the erection of the Chapel were made, and the ground enclosed for that purpose, *circa* A.D. 1817-18, Big-

* *Meteor*, No. 157, Dec. 22, 1880.

† Ballon, } a Football; also a great Ball with which Noblemen and
Balloon, }
Princes use to play.—*Bailey's English Dictionary*, 8th edition, 1737.

side both at Cricket and Football was removed to that part of the Close lying immediately south of the Headmaster's garden wall. The procedure at Bigside of Football was then as follows:—all fags were stopped on going out after three o'clock calling-over (I should add that the Fifth Form only, which was then next to the Sixth Form, was exempt from fagging) and compelled to go into the Close, except those specially exempt, by having to attend the French Master, Drawing Master, or Drill Sergeant, the times for which, being extras, were taken out of the half-holidays, and consequently little was learned. When, then, all had assembled in the Close, two of the best players in the School commenced choosing in, one for each side. One of these players in my time was an athlete in the Lower Fourth Form, then the lowest form in the Upper School. After choosing in about a score on each side, a somewhat rude division was made of the remaining fags, half of whom were sent to keep goal on the one side, the other half to the opposite goal for the same purpose. Any fag, though not specially chosen in, might follow up on that side to the goal of which he was attached. Some of these were ready enough to mingle in the fray, others judiciously kept half-back, watching their opportunity for a casual kick, which was not unfrequently awarded them. Few and simple were the rules of the game: touch on the sides of the ground was marked out, and no one was allowed to run with the ball in his grasp towards the opposite goal. It was Football, and not handball, plenty of hacking but little struggling. As to costume, there were neither flannels nor caps, the players simply doffed their hats, and coats, or jackets, which were heaped together on either side near the goals till the game was over. All were scratch matches, one boarding-house was never pitted against another, and there was no Cock House. There were no Old Rugbeian matches; Railways had not commenced to pervade the land, and Rugby was a good twelve hours journey from London. With Oxford there was no direct communication. Once a year, at the Easter speeches, the School used to be re-visited by Old Rugbeians from Oxford, but these never amounted to more than a score in number, if so many. After the games of the day were concluded, however vigorously they may have been contended, all further remembrance of the game was consigned to the limbo of oblivion, our tasks to be learned at night were sufficiently onerous to allow little leisure for discussion, and there was no *Meteor* in which the incidents of each game could be recorded.

In the latter half-year of 1823, some 57 years ago, originated though without premeditation, that change in one of the rules, which more than any other has since distinguished the Rugby School game from the Association Rules.

A boy of the name of Ellis—William Webb Ellis—a town boy and a foundationer, who at the age of nine entered the School after the midsummer holidays in 1816, who in the second half-year of 1823, was, I believe, a præpostor, whilst playing Bigside at football in that half-year, caught the ball in his arms. This being so, according to the then rules, he ought to have retired back as far as he pleased, without parting with the ball, for the combatants on the

opposite side could only advance to the spot where he had caught the ball, and were unable to rush forward till he had either punted it or had placed it for some one else to kick, for it was by means of these placed kicks that most of the goals were in those days kicked, but the moment the ball touched the ground, the opposite side might rush on. Ellis, for the first time, disregarded this rule, and on catching the ball, instead of retiring backwards, rushed forwards with the ball in his hands towards the opposite goal, with what result as to the game I know not, neither do I know how this infringement of a well known rule was followed up, or when it became, as it is now, a standing rule. Mr. Ellis was high up in the School, and as to scholarship of fair average abilities. He left School in the summer of 1825, being the second Rugby Exhibitioner of that year, and was entered at Brasenose College, Oxford. He subsequently took Holy Orders, and at a later period became incumbent of the church of St. Clement Danes, Strand, London. He died on the continent some years ago. When at School, though in a high Form, Mr. Ellis was not what we should call a "swell," at least none of his compeers considered him as such; he had, however, no lack of assurance, and was ambitious of being thought something of. In fact he did an act which if a fag had ventured to have done, he would probably have received more kicks than commendations. How oft it is that such small matters lead to great results!

FOOTBALL AND ATHLETICS.*

In the early part of the present year, some letters, written by old Rugbeians, about the present Rugby Football Game, appeared in the *Standard*, a well known London daily paper. In one of these letters the writer professed his belief that the Rugby School Football Game, at present played at Rugby, was of great and unknown antiquity. On this I wrote a letter, published in the *Standard*, to the effect that the present game, so far as the rules authorised the ball being taken up and carried by hand, the holder running with it, was unknown during the time I was at School, 1813 to 1821, and was I thought, introduced in Dr. Arnold's time. I have since ascertained that this change originated with a Town boy or Foundationer of the name of Ellis, William Webb Ellis, who was entered at Rugby School in 1816, and left at Midsummer 1825, being then elected as second Exhibitioner of that year. It must, I think, have been in the second half year of 1823, that this change from the former system, in which the football was not allowed to be taken up and run with, commenced. At first the new practice did not succeed, but was soon set aside, and not again introduced, by whom I know not, till Dr. Arnold's mastership, 1828-42.

The game of Football was practised in this country before the middle of the 14th century. In 1349 it was, with other games,

* A Letter to the *Meteor*, No. 104, Oct. 10, 1876.

prohibited by authority, as interfering or supposed to interfere, with the practice of, and impeding the progress of, Archery.

In the early part of the 17th century it was discountenanced by James the First, who in his '*Basilicon Doron*' says

"From this Court I debarre all rough and violent exercises, as the football, meeter for lameing, than making able the users thereof."

It is, I think, owing to the condemnation of the game by this Monarch, that we do not find it mentioned in the "*Annalia Dubrensia*," a collection of poetical effusions "upon the yearly celebration of Mr. Robert Dover's Olimpick Games upon Cotswold Hills." These games, if not the origin, were the precursors of our present athletic sports. James the First gave them his sanction, and it may, I think, have been in compliment to him, that the game of football was omitted.

It continued, however, a game amongst countrymen in the 17th century, as appears from a notice in the poems of Waller, born A.D. 1605, died A.D. 1687:—

"As when a sort of lusty shepherds try
Their force at *Football*; care of victory
Makes them salute so rudely breast to breast
That their encounter seems too rough for jest."†

But an earlier poet, Barclay, in his "*Ship of Fools*," published A.D. 1508, treats of a game more resembling the present Rugby Football Game:—

"And nowe in the winter, when men kill the fat swine,
They get the bladder and blow it great and thin,
With many beans and peason put within:
It ratleth, soundeth, and shineth clere and fayre,
While it is throwen and cast up in the ayre,
Eche one contendeth and hath a great delite
With *foote and with hands* the bladder for to smite;
If it fall to ground, they lifte up agayne
And this way to labour they count it no payne."

In conclusion, I may remark that the Rugby School footballs are well known all over the world.

THE LAST VISIT OF W. C. MACREADY.*

William Charles Macready, the celebrated tragedian, was born on the 3rd of March, 1793, in Mary Street, Tottenham Court Road, London. His entry is thus inscribed in the School Register for Midsummer, 1803:—"Macready William Charles, son of Mr. W. Macready, Master of Birmingham, Leicester, and Stafford theatres, &c., aged 10, March 3." Though boarding at the house

* *Meteor*, No. 198, Feb. 12, 1884.

† But cp. quotation on p. 108, at the head of the preceding Article, written subsequently to this one, in 1880.

‡ Waller's Poems in Johnson's English Poets, Vol. xvi., p. 18. The next two lines are worth quoting:

"They ply their feet, and still the restless ball,
'Tost to and fro, is urged by them all."

of a relative, the Rev. William Birch, one of the Masters of the School, which house and yard occupied the site of the four westernmost almshouses and gardens of the charity of Lawrence Sheriff, his early career at School was not a pleasant one. There were then at school certain of those despicable characters, "School bullies, a race, it is to be hoped, now happily extinct. He tells us "from the bullying endured the first year of my term was real misery." He gives us the opinion entertained of the then Headmaster of the School as follows :—

"In the early part of my course at Rugby Dr. Ingles was the headmaster, a pale, ascetic-looking man, whose deportment was grave, dignified, and awe-inspiring : the clicking of the latch of the door, by which he entered the Upper Schoolroom, instantly produced a silence like a chill, and the "boldest held his breath for a time." It was in the deepest hush of both Upper and Lower Schools that the sound of his tread was distinctly heard, or that his voice echoed through the halls, as he gave out on a Thursday morning the name or names of the boys whose exercises entitled them to the honour of play, *i.e.*, of obtaining for the School "one of the half-holidays of the week."

He tells us one amusement of the bigger boys was in getting up plays which were acted to their schoolfellows in one of the boarding houses—Bucknill's. They were very fairly done, only that it was necessary at the end of every scene to drop the curtain in order to change one for another. In the course of time, these plays were removed to a sort of hall at the School House called the "Over School," the reading and sitting room of the School House Fifth and Sixth Form boys ; it opened into a large bedroom which went by the name of "Paradise," with nine beds appropriated to the head boys, and was very convenient to actors both for dressing and undressing. The actors in these plays made application through me to my father for the loan of books, and afterwards for dresses, with which to their great delight he readily furnished them. In grateful testimony they considered themselves obliged to give to me, although in the Under School, parts in their performances, and my theatrical career at Rugby was begun as prompter, a distinguished post for an Under School boy, and I ran through the characters of Dame Ashfield in 'Speed the Plough,' Mrs. Bulguddery in 'John Bull,' the Jew in Dibdin's 'School for Prejudice,' and Briefwit in the farce of 'Weathercock.'

Of Dr. Ingles he tells us :

"I held him in great respect and liked him very much, stern and inaccessible as he seemed to all of us. During his term of office the subject of the French invasion engrossed all thoughts and monopolised conversation. The whole country was armed, drilled, and well accoutred, and Rugby furnished its two companies of well-equipped and well-marshalled volunteers. *The elder boys had their blue coats cuffed and collared with scarlet, and exercised after school hours, with heavy wooden broad-swords.*"

What a difference between the Rugby School Volunteers of the present day, the one corps with wooden swords, the other with rifles of the most approved pattern ! The practising and drill ground of the Old Rugby Town Volunteers was the site of the boarding-house and premises now of the Rev. C. Elsee. I can just remember, when a child, seeing them at drill there.

Dr. Wooll succeeded Dr. Ingles as Headmaster of Rugby School, in the summer of 1807; Mr. Macready speaks of him as:

"A very agreeable, good-natured, amiable little man. I think of him with great regard; he was very kind to me, and greatly liked by the boys of gentlemanly character."

By Dr. Wooll, Mr. Macready was selected out of his place to speak at the June meeting of 1808, in addition to the twelve first boys. He was then fourteenth in the School, and had allotted to him the part of Hamlet in the closet scene. One, present at the speeches on that occasion, described his performance as "surprisingly well indeed."

Of the subsequent half-year, that of the close of 1808, with the full prospect, as he deemed it, of his return to the School after the holidays, of his obtaining an exhibition, of his proceeding to the University of Oxford, and finally of his aspirations to study law and become an advocate at the Bar, in all which he was doomed to disappointment, he thus concluded his Rugby School career with an account of his last days there:—

"The half-year closed with speeches before an auditory consisting only of the School and the gentry of the town. My place was the last among the speakers, and I can now remember the inward elation I felt in marking, as I slowly rose up, the deep and instant hush that went through the whole assembly; I recollect the conscious pride I felt, as the creaking of my shoes came audibly to my ears whilst I deliberately advanced to my place in the centre of the School. My speech was the oration of Titus Quintius, translated from Livy. It was a little triumph in its way, but the last I was doomed to obtain in dear old Rugby."

Not the last, but more than forty years had to elapse.

LAST VISIT OF W. C. MACREADY, *continued*.*

During the five years and a half Mr. W. C. Macready was at Rugby, he had risen from the last but two in the School, to a high position in the Sixth Form. He was then under sixteen years of age. On his return home for the holidays of the winter, 1808-9, he was not at first apprised of the financial difficulties under which his father was labouring from the unsuccessful issue of a theatrical adventure. On this being made known to him, and to relieve his father, he abandoned his intention of returning to Rugby, and his long-cherished hopes of success at the Bar, and resolved upon taking up the stage as a profession. He did not, however, make his appearance on any regular stage till the 7th of June, 1810, he being then early in his 18th year, when the play-bill of the Birmingham Theatre, in announcing the tragedy of Romeo and Juliet, gave out "the part of Romeo by a young gentleman, being his first appearance on any stage." On this occasion his old master at Rugby, Dr. Wooll, posted in his carriage to Birmingham to see him act, returning after the performance was over in time for first lesson the following morning. Mr. Macready's first

* *Meteor*, No. 200, March 22, 1884.

appearance in London was at Covent Garden Theatre in 1815. I remember seeing him in August, 1821, at the Birmingham Theatre, in the character of Rob Roy, in the play of that name adopted from Sir Walter Scott's novel.

Mr. Macready did not re-visit Rugby, after leaving School, till the year 1832, as appears from his memoranda, thus:—

"June 16, went to Coventry Went to Rugby. Melancholy reflections on time misspent, through ignorance of one's own capabilities. Twenty-three years since I left. Slept at S. Bucknill's."

"June 17.—Rugby so altered. Rural character quite gone. Saw Birch. At church: heard Moultrie and Page."

"June 18th.—Breakfasted at Bucknill's. Posted to Daventry."

At this time the construction of the London and Birmingham Railway had not been finished.

The Rev. William Birch and his sister, Mrs. Mary Bucknill, wife of Mr. Samuel Bucknill, one of the medical attendants on the School, were relatives of Mr. Macready. To those two families he makes frequent allusions in his reminiscences. The Rev. John Moultrie was then Rector, and the Rev. Thomas Page, Curate of Rugby.

The death of Dr. Wooll, his old master, is thus noticed by Mr. Macready:—

"1833, December 1st.—The news which letters conveyed to me this morning from the papers, was the death of my old master, Dr. Wooll. I really regret him; he was kind, most hospitable, ready to enjoy and delighted to look upon enjoyment; in short, of a most benevolent disposition. He had little or no pretensions to profound learning, but he was a thoroughly good-natured, kind-hearted man."

Dr. Wooll died at his residence at Worthing, on the 23rd of November, 1833, aged 66, and was buried in the churchyard of Broadwater, the Parish Church of Worthing, near the north entrance into the church. It is barely six months since I visited his tomb.

A second re-visit of Mr. Macready to Rugby is thus recorded:—

"1841, Birmingham to Rugby, and back, April 18th.—Took the railway to Rugby, and arriving at the station, walked to the town by a new road that puzzled me to know my exact locality. I at last escaped through a broken paling into a little dirty lane, which was evidently of the olden time, and I soon began to guess of my whereabouts, which the sight of Sir Egerton Leigh's Baptist Chapel presently assured me of. I asked an old woman if it were not so, and her answer confirmed me. I walked into the well-known streets, remembering when I was but a promise. I walked into the dining room of my dear old friend and benefactor (the Rev. Wm. Birch), he looked at me, not knowing or expecting me: at last he recognised me with delight. I was affected in seeing him. I feel very uncertain if I am ever able to see him again. I went with him to the old church, and sat where, as a boy, I used to say my prayers. I looked for old faces, but saw very few; old things, but not many persons. We talked over the school-days, and the fates of various persons who were at School with me. We parted, he kissed me, and was affected. God knows if we may ever meet in this world again! He has been to me the friend of my life, my relation, my tutor, my benefactor. God bless him."

"Posted back to Birmingham with all speed; every house almost along the road familiar to me. Bilton, where I could not repress a smile at the recollection of my boyish impudence."

With reference to the foregoing excerpt, I should observe that the original Rugby Railway Station had been removed from its original site, near the river at Rugby bridge, to the position it now occupies, and that the road Mr. Macready partly traversed from the station up to the town, was a new one.

Within a week of this visit to Rugby, Mr. Macready was performing at Exeter. His notice of this act is as follows:—

“1841, Exeter, April 23rd.—Rehearsed “*Richelieu*,” a foretaste of the performance Acted Cardinal Richelieu, as well as the wretched murdering of the other characters would let me. Was called for and politely received, the people standing up when I came on.”

I was present at that performance, having had to transact that very day some special law business which took me down to Exeter. Observing in the coffee room of the Inn at which I was staying, a notice of that night's performance, I went to the Theatre and occupied a seat in a box close to the stage. I observed nearly the whole of the performance Mr. Macready's eyes fixed upon me; at first I did not understand the reason, I subsequently arrived at the conclusion that he took me for one of my brothers, with whom he was intimate, and who had been with him over Battlefield, Shrewsbury.

In 1842 we find Rugby again re-visited, and this time, as before, from Birmingham.

“June 26.—Packed up my clothes, and set out by railway to Rugby. Walked from the station to Rugby, where almost all traces of my boyish days are obliterated in the improvement of the town. Called on Birch, and was glad to find him so well, agreed to dine with him, and went on to call on (relatives). Sat with them till one o'clock. Heard from them most interesting details of Dr. Arnold's death. I was very much touched with the sad but beautiful account they gave me of his last moments, and the conduct of his wife. Dined with Birch; he related some pleasing anecdotes of Arnold. He walked with me down to the railway station, and stayed with me till the train came up.”

Dr. Arnold died on the 12th of June, within a fortnight of this, Mr. Macready's third visit to Rugby. In neither of those three visits, so far as we can judge from his reminiscences, does he once allude to the School buildings. They had been entirely rebuilt since he was at School as a boy. This was the last interview he appears to have had with his old tutor, relative, and friend, Mr. Birch.

LAST VISIT OF W. C. MACREADY, *continued*.*

Of many attainments and varied knowledge, Mr. Macready, in the leisure hours spared from his profession, was a reader of much miscellaneous literature, and in his memoranda he gives us an insight as to what books he read, and when and where he read them. One excerpt will suffice:—

* *Meteor*, No. 201, April 9, 1884.

"1845, Eastbourne, August 4, purchased book for Willie. In the evening read with the children, Wordsworth and Thompson. Read in Bloxam's 'Gothic Architecture.'"

A few years elapsed before the last visit of Mr. Macready to Rugby, which was a somewhat remarkable one, took place. This was occasioned as follows:—The lowly tenement at Stratford-upon-Avon, in which Shakespeare was born, was on sale, and a feeling was expressed lest it might fall into the hands of some speculator, and a transportation of the materials to America, there to be re-constructed, was talked of. To avoid this, and in order that it might be preserved as a national monument, a fund was started for the purchase. In aid of that fund Mr. Macready was solicited to come down to Rugby and read one of Shakespeare's plays in the great Schoolroom. He consented to do this provided a sum of fifty pounds towards the fund was guaranteed. The following is an account from his memoranda of that proceeding:—

"1850, London, Rugby, November 12th.—Busy with needful affairs of packing for my journey. On the way thought over the few words with which I would preface my reading to the boys, and thought on the scenes I purposed reading. Found a fly waiting for me at the station as ordered, and with various feelings made up of memory and present speculations, passed through the old town with its altered face, and reached Mr. Bucknill's. Mary Bucknill (wife of Mr. Samuel Bucknill, medical attendant at the School, and sister to Mr. Birch, and a relative of Mr. Macready) received me with deep joy, I may say. I arranged my dress, and called on Dr. Goulburn; he gave me a very gentlemanlike and very cordial reception, and was very earnest in his wish that I should be his guest now or hereafter. I then returned and looked over the leaves of my book, &c., waiting for Dr. Goulburn, who volunteered to call and accompany me to the School with Lushington. They came, Lushington, a very gentlemanlike boy, tendered me the cheque of £50., which I asked him to keep till after the evening. Dr. Goulburn pioneered my way through the dense crowd from the bottom to the top of the School, the boys applauding, but decorously. The Schoolroom was thronged, and I was very fearful of my audience, among whom, the boys, I thought I felt unsteadiness and disposition to inattention. But as the reading of the play, "Hamlet," proceeded, they became mute and enrapt in its interests. I addressed a few words to them intimating that the project of this means of contribution to the Shakespeare House fund was the suggestion of their own præpositors, and thanking Dr. Goulburn for affording me the opportunity of helping them to realise it. The reading was to begin at half-past two, but it must have been within a quarter to three o'clock before I opened my book, and I was uneasy lest the day-light should fail me, as it began to obscure during the later scenes. I took much pains to keep up the excitement, and by the abbreviation, I think, I succeeded in keeping alive the interest of the audience. The boys, who knew I had obtained a half-holiday for them, applauded, of course, most lustily at the conclusion. Dr. Goulburn addressed the assembly, particularly the boys, expressing their obligation to me for thus visiting them, and for giving such illustrations to the poet. He expressed himself again, very earnestly, desirous that I should visit him, and we departed very pleasantly. The express train brought me back to London, which I had left about twelve hours before, and all this space traversed, and all this done within that compass of time, was and still to me is wonderful. Thus ends my projected public visit to the scene of my boyhood. Many have been the thoughts passing through my mind; the changes in others, in myself,—what I might have been, what I am! O God, in Thee is my hope and my trust, blessed be Thy name."

After the reading of Hamlet in the Great Schoolroom was concluded, Mr. Macready called on my brother and myself. With

the exception of the late Rev. William Sutton, and the late Mr. Thomas Caldecott, of The Lodge, Rugby, my brother, the Rev. Thomas Lawrence Bloxam, who was Mr. Macready's junior in the entries at the School by a year and a half, was the only Rugbeian then resident at Rugby who had been at school with Mr. Macready, and the latter did not appear to know either Mr. Sutton or Mr. Caldecott. This was the first time, as well as the last, I came personally into contact with him, and entered into conversation with him. With my brother he went over his reminiscences of School life, in which he appeared to take great interest, and made allusions to and inquiries after the fate of many Old Rugbeians of his time. He was also very anxious to know whether any of the old stage properties brought from the Birmingham Theatre, as fly scenes, and used in the School plays in his time, were in existence, and expressed his deep regret on learning they were not. I have reason to believe that he thought that as the famous Birmingham artist, David Cox, was in his early career—so I have heard—a scene painter at the Birmingham Theatre, some of his productions for the stage might possibly have been found at Rugby. More than 40 years had however elapsed, and the very memory of those plays at Rugby had, with the exception of the remembrances of a very few Old Rugbeians, passed into oblivion. Stopping with my brother and myself as long as he could, he at last was fain to tear himself away, and, as he expressed himself, most unwillingly and with regret, being engaged to dine with his relative, the late Dr. Samuel Birch Bucknill, of a much later generation of School life, previous to his returning to London by an evening train.

It was, as I have previously stated, on the 12th of November, 1850, that his reading at Rugby took place; this was shortly before his final retirement from the stage. In the interim he undertook other readings of Hamlet, viz., on the 17th of February, 1851, at Cambridge; on the day following at Oxford, and on the 21st of that month at Eton.

On the 26th of February, 1851, Mr. Macready took his final leave of the stage, after the hard-working professional life of an actor, of no mean merit, for 40 years, on the boards of the Haymarket Theatre, in the character of Macbeth. How and with what feelings he performed on that occasion, may be gathered from his own words:—

"Acted Macbeth as I never, never before acted it, with a reality, a vigour, a truth, a dignity that I never before threw into my delineation of the favourite character."

I attempted to be present at the theatre on this occasion, but the box seats had been taken weeks before, and it was impossible to obtain box tickets. The crush to the pit was excessive; I barely succeeded in obtaining standing room, but as some young friends who accompanied me were unable to join me, I had to leave the theatre and rejoin them outside. I had, however, at the same theatre, seen Mr. Macready, in the character of Macbeth, and in one of the scenes, Macbeth's Castle, I was much pleased to see an accessory, taken from an engraving in a work of mine, of a rude

triangular-headed Anglo-Saxon doorway, from a drawing of such in Brigstock Church, Northamptonshire, which I well remember making. I felt complimented not a little at the recognition. The engraving first appeared in the 4th edition of my work published in 1841, so that it must have been upwards of ten years before I saw it on the stage that I made the drawing.

Mr. Macready lived upwards of 20 years after he had left the stage, and, as long as his physical powers permitted, he continued to employ himself most usefully, giving up his time gratuitously for the benefit of others. He first retired to Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, where he resided for ten years or more; the latter part of his life he resided at Cheltenham. Well versed in literary pursuits, he derived from them (keeping up his acquaintance with the first and most noted authors) no small degree of comfort in his old age, having through life been a studious reader.

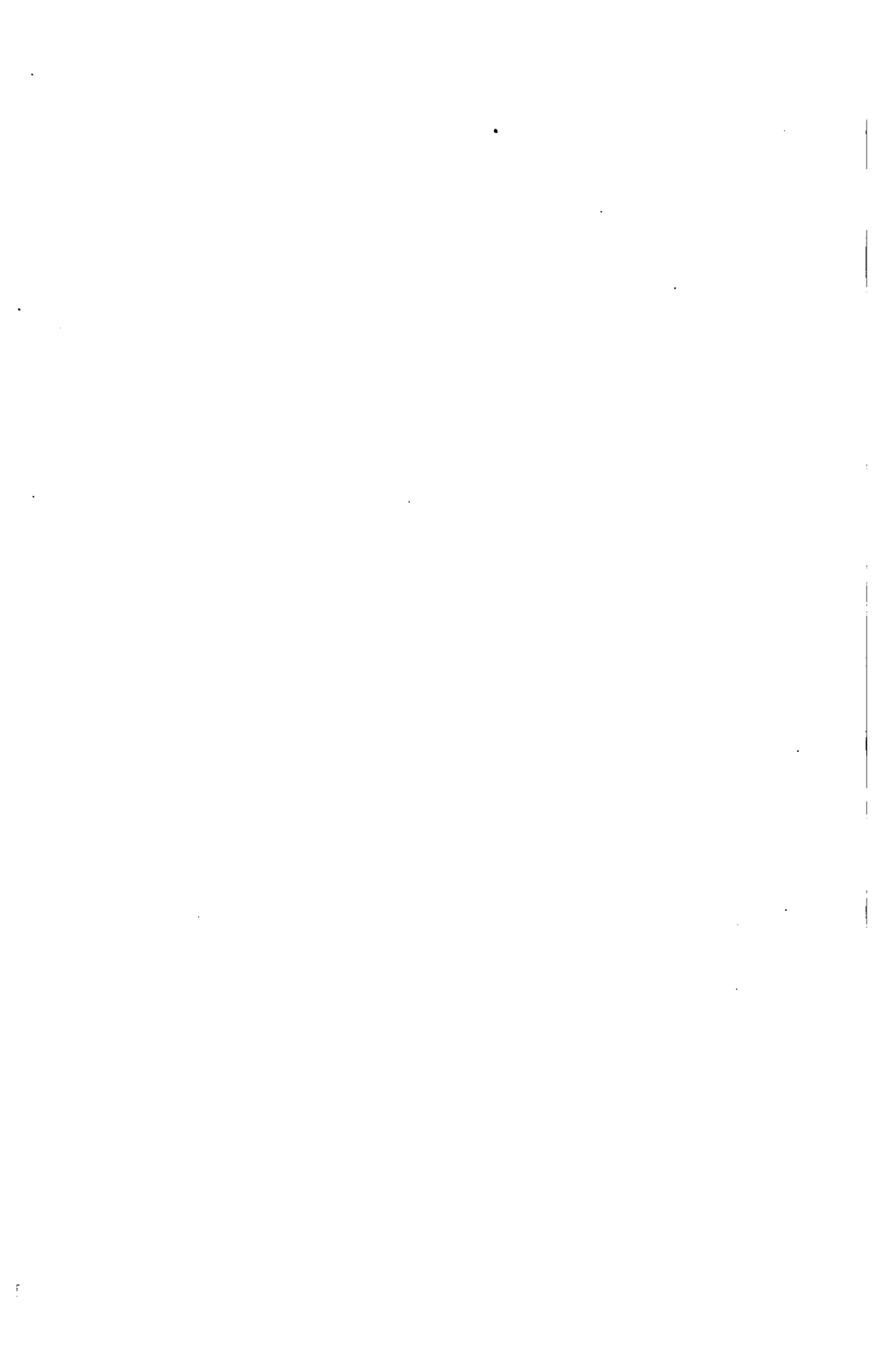
At Cheltenham his life passed away on the 27th of April, 1873, in the 81st year of his age. His funeral took place at Kensal Green, London, on the 4th of May following. Amongst the mourners was a representative of his Rugby relatives, the Rev. George Bucknill. Lastly, of Mr. Macready it may be truly said that no actor of pre-eminence ever did more to grace, to purify and refine the stage, than our old and distinguished Rugbeian, William Charles Macready.



THE SCHOOL HOUSE PORCH AND TURRET.

PART II.

HISTORY AND LEGENDS OF RUGBY
AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.



PART SECOND.

HISTORY AND LEGENDS OF RUGBY AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, RUGBY.*

PRIOR to the reign of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1042-66, we find few recorded notices of country parish churches. In that reign Clifton-upon-Dunsmore was possessed by Alwinus a Sheriff who gave it to the Abbey and Church of Coventry. Earl Alberic unjustly deprived the monks of Coventry of it. This transaction is thus entered in the Conqueror's Survey, better known as 'Domesday Book,' compiled between A.D. 1082-87 :—

"Huic eccl'e ded' Aluvin' vicecom' Cliptone concessu regis E et filior' suor' p'anima sua et testimonio comitatus.

Comes alb'icus hanc injuste inuasit et eccle' abstulit."

"Alwin the Sheriff gave Cliptone (Clifton) to this church (Coventry) with the consent of King Edward (the Confessor) and his sons for (the health) of his soul, and with the approbation of the county. Earl Alberic unjustly invaded and seized it from (the possessions of) that church."

This Earl Alberic appears to have been by the Survey, a man who unjustly invaded and seized the possessions of others. He had lands in five counties.

We now come to another notice of Clifton in the Survey.

"Terra Alberici comitis. In Meretone H'd.

Ipsc com' tenuit Cliptone. Uieec' Aluvin tenuit T. R. E. et cu' t'ra lib' fuit. Ibi sunt v hide T'ra e' xvi car'. In d'nio sunt ii car' et xii vill'i cu' p'bro et xx bord' h'nt vii car'. Ibi ii molini de xi solid' et viii ac' p'ti. T. R. E. et post valuit xi solid'. Modo iiii lib'. Hanc t'ra ded' Aluvin eccl'e de Couentreu pro anima sua T. R. E. com' Alb'ic' abstulit."

* *Kenning's Family Almanack*, Rugby, 1876.

"Land of Earl Alberic. The Earl himself held Cliptone (Clifton). Alwin, the Sheriff, held it in King Edward's time, and was free with the land. There are 5 hides. The arable employs 16 ploughs. 2 are in the demesne. There are 12 villeins; *with a Priest*, and 20 borders, they have 7 ploughs. Two mills pay 11s.; and there are 8 acres of meadow. In King Edward's time, and afterwards, it was worth 40s., now 4 pounds. Alwin gave this land to the Church of Coventry, for the health of his soul, in King Edward's time Earl Alberic seized it."

The words 'cū p'bro' (cum presbytero) with a priest, gives us by implication the knowledge that a church existed at Clifton when Domesday Book was compiled, A.D. 1086. This was probably erected by the Monks of Coventry in the reign of Edward the Confessor.

Of this early structure no visible remains, above ground, are now existing. It is, however, not improbable that fragments of this ancient church at Clifton may be buried in the foundations of the present church. In the destruction of old churches remains of earlier edifices are frequently discovered worked up in the foundations.

Although the townships or hamlets of Rugby, Brownsover, Newton and Biggin, were anciently members and formed portions of the parish of Clifton, they are severally and separately enumerated and treated of in Domesday Book. The landowners were distinct from that of Clifton, but we find no notice of any chapel then existing in either of them.

To Ernaldus de Bosco, the first out of four in succession of that name, and who was possessed of Clifton in the reign of Stephen, may I think be attributed the erection of Chapels at Rugby and Brownsover about A.D. 1140, dependent to a certain extent on the mother Church at Clifton. The ancient Chapel at Newton, of which now even the site is unknown, was not, I think, erected so early. No traces of the ancient Norman Chapel at Rugby are apparent. In the reconstruction, now being effected, of the ancient Chapel at Brownsover, principally a structure of the thirteenth century, some indications of the more ancient chapel have, to my mind, been brought to light, namely, a rude semi-circular arched ambry of plain masonry, without mouldings, in the north wall of the chancel; and the remains of a rude piscina of plain masonry in the south wall of the chancel. These chapels, both at Rugby and at Brownsover, were probably small unpretending structures consisting each of a nave and chancel only of the dimensions of the present Chapel at Brownsover, and may perhaps be assimilated to the little Norman Chapel of Sutton Bassett, a hamlet in the parish of Weston by Welland, in the County of Northampton.

The Church of Clifton and the Chapels of Rugby and Brownsover were amongst the earliest possessions of the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, at Leicester, an Abbey of Canons of the Augustine Order, where Cardinal Wolsey died and was buried, and which, inasmuch as it was anciently, and down to the suppression, more or less connected with the old chapel and subsequent

church at Rugby, I shall have occasion to remark on again. In the Register of the Abbey of Leicester, preserved in the Bodleian Library, is that very interesting document known as "Charyte's Rentale," compiled by William Charyte, a brother of the order, A.D. 1477, from the ancient charters, and judging from the language used in one or more deeds of Inspeximus we arrive at the following historical conclusions :—

"Carta Ernaldi primi de Bosco;—Habemus ex dono Ernaldi primi de Bosco Ecclesiam de Cliftona cum capellis de Wovera et de Rokeby * * * * * Habemus ex dono Ernaldi secundi de Bosco confirmationem de predictis ecclesiis, Et preterea concedit et confirmat nobis Ecclesiam de Bulkingtona cum duabus virgatis terre et omnibus pertinentiis suis."

That is,

"We have of the gift of the first Ernald de Bois the church of Clifton with the chapels of Brownsover and Rokeby. (Rugby.) * * * * * We have of the gift of the second Ernald de Bois a confirmation of the grant of the aforesaid churches, and he besides granted and confirmed to us the church of Bulkington, with two yards land with their appurtenances."

Now the first Ernald de Bois was Steward to Robert Bossu, Earl of Leicester, Founder of the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester, A.D. 1143.

"Carta Ernaldi tertii de Bosco.—Habemus ex dono Ernaldi tertii de Bosco confirmationem de omnibus que Ernaldus de Bosco avus suus, et Ernaldus pater suus nobis dederunt."

That is,

"The third Ernald de Bois has confirmed all grants which Ernald de Bois his grandfather, and Ernald his father have made to us."

Again,

"Carta Ernaldi quarti de Bosco.—Universis Christi fidelibus Ernaldus de Bosco salutem in Domino. Noveritis quod ego confirmavi omnes donationes et concessiones quas Ernaldus de Bosco atavus meus, et Ernaldus de Bosco avus meus, et Ernaldus de Bosco pater meus dederunt Deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie de Pratis Leycestrie et canonicis regularibus ibidem Deo servantibus, ecclesiam de Cliftona cum capellis de Wovera et de Rokeby, et omnibus pertinentiis suis * * * * * Et confecta fuit hec carta Anno Domini mccxl."

That is,

"The Charta of the fourth Ernald de Bois. To all the faithful in Christ Ernald de Bois greeting. Know ye that I have confirmed all gifts and grants which my great grandfather Ernald de Bois, my grandfather Ernald de Bois, and my father Ernald de Bois have given to God, and to the Church of St. Mary in the Meadows at Leicester, and to the Canons regular there serving God, the Church of Clifton, with the Chapels of Brownsover and of Rokeby with all their appurtenances * * * * * And this Charta was made in the year of our Lord 1240."

Now the fourth Ernald de Bosco died in the fifth year of the reign of King Edward the First, A.D. 1277.

The Church of Clifton with the chapels of Rugby and Brownsover

are also mentioned in a Charter of confirmation granted by King Henry the Second to the Abbey of Leicester. In what particular year of the reign of that monarch, which commenced A.D. 1154, and lasted to A.D. 1189, I know not, but as it was in the lifetime of Robert Bossu, Earl of Leicester, the Founder, I imagine it was early in that reign.

"Carta Regis Henrici secundi donatorum concessionones recitans et confirmans. Henricus Rex Anglie, Dux Normannie et Aquilanie et Comes Andegavie Archiepiscopis, &c., salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et perpetuam eleemosinam confirmasse Deo et Ecclesie Sancte Marie de Prato Leicestrie, et canonicis regularibus ibidem Deo servientibus quicquid Robertus Comes Leicestrie eis dedit vel daturus est in terris et ecclesiis et decimis, et omnibus aliis rebus; et quicquid alii eis rationabiliter dederunt vel daturi sunt."

Then follows an enumeration of the grants and by whom given, thus:—

"Ex dono Ernaldi de Bosco ecclesiam de Cliftona cum capellis de Rokeby et de Wovere."

"Henry King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou. To the Archbishops, &c., greeting,—Know ye that I have granted and confirmed for ever, as alms to God and the Church of St. Mary in the Meadow at Leicester, and to the Canons regular there serving God, whatever Robert, Earl of Leicester, has given or is about to give to them in lands, and churches, and tithes, and all other things, and whatever *others* have reasonably given or are about to give to them."

Then follows an enumeration of the gifts and donors as:

"Of the gift of Ernald de Bois the Church of Clifton, with the Chapels of Rokeby (Rugby) and Brownsover."

Thus we see that seven centuries ago the ancient Norman chapels of Rugby and of Brownsover were enumerated in a Royal Charter.

And now, *ne memoria peribit*, of the family of the original builder of these chapels. The fourth and last Ernald de Bois, who died A.D. 1277, had two sons, John de Bois and William de Bois, both of whom died without issue, and a daughter, Isabella, who married Sir John Lovel, and whose daughter Matilda married William la Zouch of Haryngworth.

The family of de Bosco, or de Bois, had a seat at Weston, in the parish of Bulkington, in this county. They bore for their arms argent, two bars gules, and a canton of the same. These arms were, little more than two centuries ago, displayed in stained glass in the east window of the chancel of Bulkington Church, and in a north window of the same church was depicted the figure, kneeling on one knee, of a knight clad in defensive armour, viz., a hooded hawberk and chausses of mail, with a sleeveless surcoat over, emblazoned with the arms of De Bois, as above described. This, I imagine, represented the fourth and last Ernald de Bois, who died early in the reign of Edward the First, or perhaps of his son William de Bois. In the same window were depicted the arms of the Zouch's of Haryngworth, gules, ten bezants or, four, three, two, and one, and a canton ermine; and in the same window was

depicted the figure of a man kneeling on one knee, armed in a hooded hawberk and chausses of mail, with a sleeveless surcoat over, emblazoned with the arms of Zouch as above described. In the same window was depicted the figure of a lady, in a kneeling and praying posture habited in a veil and gown, with a mantle over, the gown emblazoned with the arms of Zouch. These I take to have represented William de la Zouch, who died in 1353, and Matilda his wife, grand-daughter of the fourth Ernald de Bois.

The late Honorable Robert Curzon, Lord de la Zouch, who died A.D. 1873, and who bore as his arms gules, ten bezants or, four, three, two, one, and a canton ermine, was the descendant and representative of the Ernaldi de Bosco, filius, pater, avus, atavus, the latter the earliest known benefactor to Rugby.

To the late Robert Lord de la Zouch, descendant of our earliest known benefactors, we are much indebted for that delightful, interesting, instructive, and important work, published in 1849, entitled "Visits to the Monasteries in the Levant," by the Hon. Robert Curzon, Jun.

In this volume is combined the quiet humour of the novelists of the last century, Fielding, Smollett, and Graves, with the knowledge of a man of the world, and a critical knowledge of ancient oriental palæography. It was he who rescued from dust and comparative oblivion, Biblical and Patristic manuscripts of early date, and he has given us information respecting others, especially of a very ancient transcript of the Ignatian Epistles. To him was exhibited, for a consideration, at Nablous, that most ancient copy of the Pentateuch, which is said to have been written by Abistai the grandson of Aaron, a photographic copy of which, for critical scholars, is a desideratum. But amidst his interesting researches and his still more interesting collections he met not with that transcript of Holy Writ, a copy, written it is supposed, in the third century, of the four Gospels, discovered in one of the monasteries of the desert by the late learned Tischendorf, the German biblical scholar and palæologist, one of the most important discoveries of the kind, which in this sceptical age has been made.

It may not be unimportant here to mark, how the gifts made some seven hundred years ago by Ernald de Bosco, *Deo et ecclesiæ*, are now appropriated. The Impropriation of Bulkington at the present time forms part of the endowments of the Grammar Schools of Oakham, and Uppingham; that of Brownsover of the Grammar School of Rugby; that of Biggin, anciently called Holme, and formerly, as I shall show, in connection with Rugby, of the Church of St. John at Coventry; and that of Newton of the endowed village school at Shawell for the children of Newton and Shawell.

A different fate befell the Impropriation of Rugby. Of this I shall have to treat, and thus much of the ancient Norman Chapel of Rugby before its conversion into a Parish Church. It is opportune to look back upon old times and let nothing remarkable escape us. It is good and seemly to rescue the names of the early benefactors of Rugby, the Ernaldi de Bosco, from oblivion.

And now as to a change in the advowson of Rugby. In the

second year of King John, A.D. 1200, a suit took place between Henry de Rokeby, the Lord of the Manor of Rugby, and Paul, Abbot of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester, of which the annexed account is recorded :—

“Henric de Rochebi tulit breve Dni R's qd haberet rōnabile recordū & judiciū suū de loquela que est int' ip'm Henr petentē & abbem de Legr de capella de Rokebi sicut rōnabiliter deducta est corā justic suis apud Westm' nec remaneat p carta R's Ricī qm dicitur ip'm abbēm habere in qua continetur qd idē Abbas p nullo respondeat nec in plto ponatur nisi corā ipō Rege vel capital Justic ejus cū omīa plita que corā Justic de Banco tenentur corā Dno Rege vel capitali justic teneri intelligantur. Idē Abbas venit & ostendit cartā R's Henr confirmantē donacōem qm Ernald de Bosco fecit abbacie de Legr de ecclīa de Clifton cū capella de Rokebi, &c.—Rot 26 in dorso anno 2nd John. Placitorum in domo Capit. Westmon. asservat Abbrevatio, p. 32.”

That is,

“Henry de Rokeby issued a writ of our Lord the King that he should have due record and judgment in a suit pending between the said Henry plaintiff, and the Abbot of Leicester concerning the Chapel at Rokeby as may be reasonably deduced before his (the king's) Justices at Westminster, nor be restrained by the Charta of King Richard, which it is said the Abbot has, in which it is contended that the said Abbot shall answer to no one, nor be required to plead except before the King himself or his Chief Justices of all Pleas which before the Justices of Bench are held before our Lord the King, or are understood to be held before his Chief Justice. The same Abbot came and produced the Charta of King Henry confirming the gift which Ernald de Bois had made to the Abbey of Leicester of the Church of Clifton with the Chapel of Rokeby.”

This suit was determined by a renunciation of right on the part of Henry de Rokeby. Subsequent proceedings shew how he became possessed of the patronage and advowson of the Chapel of Rugby, which thence became a Parish Church distinct from and in no wise dependent on the mother Church of Clifton, and this appears by the following excerpta :—

“Excerpta ex quodam brevi Registro Abbatīe de Leicestria in custodia Thomæ Cotton, Baronetti, ac etiam ex quodam Registro Abbatīe de Leir' remanente in Bibliotheca communi Academia Oxon—Charyte Rentale fol. xvi.

Habemus in Holme ex dono Henrici de Rokeby totam terram quam Ric. de Camvilla dedit ei in villa de Holme cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, in villa et extra, in bosco, pratis, &c., ut in carta de Chesham.

Hanc donationem dedit nobis pro concordia facta inter nos in curia Domini Regis de advocacione ecclesie capelle de Rokeby et istam donationem debet nobis warrantizare, &c., Redd' xviii^s. pro predicta advocacione sicut patet in finali concordia.

Habemus finalem concordiam inter nos et predictum Henricum de Rokeby pro predictis advocacione et terra in Holme in cujus fine sic scribitur, ‘Et predictus Henricus et Heredes ejus warrantizabunt, acquietabunt et defendent quandam virgatam terre cum pertin' ipsi abbati et successoribus suis contra omnes gentes ut puram et perpetuam elemosinam suam.’

ROKEBY.—Habuimus ex dono Ernaldi de Bosco, advocacionem ecclesie de Rokeby ex confirmatione regis Henrici II. que solebat esse capella de Clifton, modo tantum presentium nominatum ad episcopum. Et habemus homagium et serviciū de heredibus Henrici de Rokeby. Rector de Rokeby habet totam decimam de ecclesia ibidem et solvit xx^s pro procuracione.

Mem quod causa que vertebatur inter Hen. de Rokeby et Paulum Abbatem Leyc in' curia dni Regis super advocacionem ecclesie de Rokeby hoc modo finita

est; scil' quod dictus H. juri qd sibi competere asserebat renunciavit et in predicta curia recognovit eam esse capellam matricis ecclesie de Clifton, et tamen dictus Abbas pro se et conventu suo concessit prenominato Hen' et heredibus suis pro homagio suo et servicio ut liceat eis in perpetuum post mortem Simonis decani, clericum eligere et abbati et conventui presentare, cui eam concedant si fuerit idoneus pro xx^s annuatim nomine firme ipsi solvend' &c. Ita quod predicti H. et heredes plegii erunt de predicto redditu, et clericus qui predictam capellam tenebit singulis annis percipiet c'sma de matrice ecclesie.

Mem'. Quod anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Johannis v^o facta fuit finalis concordia in curia domini regis apud Covent' inter Willm Abbatem Leyc' et Hen: de Rokeby de advocacione capelle de Rokeby unde predictus Abbas recognovit advocacionem predictę capelle esse jus ipsius H. Ita quod idem H. et ejus heredes liberabunt idoneum Clericum ipsi Abbati et successoribus suis quem ipse Abbas et successores sui presentabunt episcopo loci, et qui Clericus reddit annuatim abbati et conventui Leyc' antiquam et debitam pensionem quam predicta ecclesia de Leyc' percipere consuevit et pro ista advocacione dedit nobis predictus H. totam terram suam quam habuit in villa de Holme.

Mem. Quod causa annue pensionis xx^s verteretur in consistorio episcopali Lich' hecque acta fuit inter Abbatem Leyc' et dominum Petrum de Bilneye rectorem ecclesie de Rokeby &c., tandem illa annua pensio xx^s. recuperata fuit per sententiam diffinitivam et latam coram diversis iudicibus ordinariis sicut patet in quibusdam instrumentis publico super hoc confectis.

Item mem'. Quod eadem pensio annua xx^s recuperata fuit per placitum in curia domini Regis a dnō Johē Stone persona ecclesie parochialis de Rokeby anno Edwardi regis quarti v^o., et in curia epi per sententiam diffinitivam, ut in libro placitorum. Charyte's Rentale fo. cxxiii.

Which excerpts may be thus rendered :—

"Excerpts from a certain short Register of the Abbey of Leicester in the possession of Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart., and from a certain Register of the Abbey of Leicester existing in the Public Library of the University of Oxford, entitled "Charyte's Rental," fol. xvi.

We (*i.e.* the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary de Pratis, at Leicester) have in Holme (Biggin), of the gift of Henry de Rokeby, all the land which Richard de Camvill gave to him in the township of Holme, with all its appurtenances in that township and elsewhere, in wood, meadows, &c., as in the Charta of Chesham. This gift he gave to us for an agreement made between us in the court of our Lord the King of the advowson of the church or chapel of Rokeby, and this gift he is obliged to warrant to us, &c. Rendering 18s. for the aforesaid advowson, as appears in the final agreement (*fine*).

We have the final agreement (*fine*) between us and the aforesaid Henry de Rokeby concerning the aforesaid advowson and land in Holme, at the end of which it is thus written :

"And the aforesaid Henry and his heirs warrant, acquit, and defend a certain yard land with the appurtenances to the Abbot and his successors against all as his pure and perpetual alms."

ROKEBY.—We have of the gift of Ernald de Bois the advowson of the Church of Rokeby with the confirmation thereof of King Henry the Second, which formerly was a chapel of Clifton, only now we present a nominee to the Bishop; and we receive homage and service of the heirs of Henry de Rokeby. The Rector of Rokeby hath the whole tithes of the church there and pays 20s. for procurations.

Be it remembered that the litigation which ensued between

Henry de Rokeby and Paul Abbot of Leicester, in the court of our Lord the King respecting the advowson of the Church of Rokeby was thus concluded, namely that the said Henry renounced the right he claimed to seek for himself, and in the aforesaid court acknowledged it to be a chapel of the mother church of Clifton, nevertheless the said Abbot for himself and his conventual establishment granted to the before-named Henry and his heirs, for his homage and service that it should be lawful for them for ever thereafter, after the death of Simon the Deacon, to choose a clerk and to present him to the Abbot and convent to whom they should consent if he was a proper person, for 20s. annually in the name of a rent to be paid to them, &c. Also that the aforesaid Henry and his heirs should be sureties for the aforesaid rent; and the Clerk who held the aforesaid chapel should every year receive chrism from the mother church (*i.e.* of Clifton).

Be it remembered that in the fifth year of the reign of Henry the son of King John (A.D. 1221), a final agreement was made in the court of our Lord the King at Coventry, between William Abbot of Leicester and Henry de Rokeby respecting the advowson of the chapel of Rokeby, in which the aforesaid Abbot acknowledged the advowson of the aforesaid chapel to be the right of Henry himself. Also that the said Henry and his heirs should elect a fit clerk for the Abbot and his successors, whom the Abbot himself and his successors should present to the Bishop of the Diocese (for institution) and which Clerk should render annually to the Abbot and Monks of Leicester an ancient and accustomed pension, which the aforesaid church of Leicester was accustomed to receive; and the aforesaid Henry for that advowson gave to us his land which he held in the township of Holme.

Be it remembered that the cause respecting an annual pension of 20s. was discussed in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Lichfield, and this was determined between the Abbot of Leicester and Master Peter de Bilney, Rector of the Church of Rokeby, &c. At length that annual pension of 20s. was recovered by a diffinative and clear sentence before divers of the ordinary judges, as appears in certain documents made in public above this.

Item. Be it remembered that the same annual pension of 20s. was recovered by plaint in the Court of our Lord the King from Master John Stone, Parson of the Parish Church of Rugby, in the fifth year of King Edward the Fourth (A.D. 1466), and in the Bishop's Court by diffinative sentence as set forth in the book of pleas.

Thus the excerpts taken from or relative to proceedings which took place for the most part early in the thirteenth century. Only two dates relating to the contentious proceedings are given, the one the fifth year of Henry the Third, the other the fifth year of Edward the Fourth.

Paul was Abbot of Leicester from A.D. 1186 to A.D. 1205.

William Pepyn was Abbot of Leicester from A.D. 1205 to A.D. 1224.

Peter de Bilney was Rector of Rugby from A.D. 1340 to A.D. 1361.

John Stone was Rector of Rugby from 1454 to 1477.

From the time of the agreement made *circa* A.D. 1221 to the suppression and dissolution of the monasteries, the Abbot and Convent were accustomed to present to the living the nominee of the Patron. Afterwards the Patrons themselves presented their own nominees.

The pension of 20s. per annum which at the time it was reserved by the Abbey of Leicester was most probably one-fourth of the annual value of the Tithes—for in 1298, some 70 years later, the annual value of the Rectory was only £5.—was on the suppression of the Monastery of St. Mary de Pratis granted by the Crown to some individual as a lay Impropriation, has passed by purchase from owner to owner and still exists as a fee-farm rent, a charge on the Rectory. It now belongs to a Mrs. Hall, but is subject to a land-tax, of 4s., one-fifth of the annual value and to an acquittance 8d., so that the nett receipts are 15s. 4d. per annum.

In the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas the Fourth, taken in 1298, when he granted the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices to the King, Edward the First, for six years towards defraying the expense of an expedition to the Holy Land, the Rectory of Rugby was esteemed to be of £5. annual value of which the tenth payable to the crown was 10s.

In 1341-2 when a ninth of corn, wool, and lambs was granted to the King, Edward the Third, by the Parliament, the estimated annual income of the Rectory was seven marks and a half, or £5. 6s. 8d.

In the Ecclesiastical Survey, *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, made in the reign of Henry the Eighth, pursuant to a Statute passed in 1534, for ascertaining the annual value of all the possessions belonging to any Monastery, Priory, Church, Parsonage, Vicarage, and Free Chapel within this realm, the Church of Rugby is thus described :—

"Eccl'ia P'ochialis de Rokeby— D'n's Joh'es Swale Rector Ib'm, et valet in terr' voc' Glebelond decim' garbār et feni in omibz aliis decim' oblacoibz et emoliment' spūalibz p annū ultra xx^s eidm allo^t p penc antim solut' abbv et convent' monasterii Leicest' et ultra ix^s vid eidm siliter allocat' p pcurac' et sinodal' solut' archno p annū xvij^l xix^s ijd Xma p inde xxxv^s xjd "

That is,

"The Parish Church of Rokeby—Master John Swale Rector there, and it is valued in land called Glebe land, in tithes of corn and hay, in all other tithes, oblations, and special emoluments, beyond 20s. from the same allotted as an annual pension paid to the Abbot and Convent of Leicester Monastery, and besides 9s. 6d. from the same in like manner allotted and paid to the Archdeacon for procurations and sinodals £17. 19s. 2d. the tenths of which were 35s. 11d."

In an account of "The taxation of the second part of the subsidè of the Clergy of the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield," anno 25th Henry the Eighth (A.D. 1534), is the subjoined notice of the Rectory and of the sums at which the Rector and his Curate—there was then a Curate—were taxed :—

"Ruchbye Dns Jo. Swale rect. . . . xx^s
Dns Stephany Waynwryght cur' vis ijd "

The inclosure of the open fields of Rugby took place in 1774, when allotments were made to the Rector in lieu of Tithes, and this materially enhanced the value of the living, which fifty years ago was estimated at about £570. per annum. This has since been greatly increased by portions of the glebe land required by and sold to the London and North-Western Railway Company.

But to return to the great benefactor of Rugby, Henry de Rokeby, the second and last of that name, Lord of the Manor of Rugby. He was alive in 1253, as in that year he nominated a Clerk to be presented to the living by the Abbot and Monks of Leicester. He is supposed to have lived till near the close of the thirteenth century. He obtained a Royal Charter for a weekly market and yearly fair. If he had not made that agreement with the Abbey of Leicester by which the Chapel was converted into a Parish Church, the Vicarage into a Rectory, the greater part of the possessions of the church, the pious gift of individuals, would on the suppression of the monasteries have been seized by the Crown and granted to lay Impropriators as at Clifton and Brownsover, subject only to the reparation of the Chancels, and as the pension of 20s. payable out of the Rectory was granted.

When Henry de Rokeby had thus secured the ancient Chapel and had it converted into a Parish Church, he appears to have taken down the chancel of the old chapel and rebuilt it in a style consonant with that of the age in which he lived, namely, the thirteenth century. This chancel was demolished in the year 1814, when the Church was enlarged.

Having done so much for the religious services of the Parish, it is but natural to conclude that he would furnish it with such church goods as would be necessary for the carrying on of divine services as then constituted. And what were these goods?

In 1237 Alexander de Stavenby, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, held a Synod, and amongst the constitutions there enacted was the following :—

"Ad hæc præcipimus, ut quælibet ecclesia habeat calicem argenteum, cum aliis vasis decentibus et honestis. Sindonem mundam et candidam, amplitudinis congruentis. Lintamina et alia ornamenta, quæ ad altaris officium spectant honesta. Libros ad psallendum et legendum idoneos, et sacerdotalia vestimenta sufficientia pariter et honesta. Et qui ministraverint sacerdoti in altari, superpellicii induantur."

Which may be thus rendered,

"And to this end we enjoin that every church should have a chalice of silver, with other decent and fit vessels, a clean and decent cloth of fine linen of fitting size. Linen and other ornaments appropriate for the service of the altar. Books fit to sing and read from and priestly vestments in the same proportion and fitting; and that they who minister to the priest at the altar, shall be vested in surplices.

In the Constitutions of this Synod held in the Cathedral Church of Worcester, A.D. 1240, presided over by the famous Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of that See, one of the most remarkable men

of his age, the articles of church furniture are enumerated more minutely than in the Constitutions of the Synod of Coventry and Lichfield, in which latter diocese Rokeby then was, and are as follows:—

“De ornamentis suarum ecclesiarum Quoniam igitur, &c. * * * præcepimus, ut ecclesiæ materiales ab omnibus spurcitiis emundatæ, in coopertura decenti, et in omni integritate servatæ, secundum facultates suas, decentibus fulgeant ornamentis; videlicet, ut in ornatu altaris in qualibet ecclesia sint tres albae, cum amictibus et stolis, et manipulis, duo superpellicea, et duæ rochetæ et duæ casulæ, duo paria corporalium, quatuor linteamina benedicta, duæ pallæ altaris, duo calices argentei in majoribus ecclesiis; et tertius stanneus non benedictus, deportandus ad infirmos, duæ pixides una argentea vel eburnea, vel de opere lemonitico, in qua hostiæ conserventur; alia decens et honesta, in qua oblatae reponantur; duæ phialæ, una vinaria, alia aquaria; unum par candelaborum; unum thuribulum; unum chrisatorium decens et honestum, duæ cruces, una processionalis, alia ad officium mortuorum; unum verillum; unum velum quadregesimale, unum sacrarium immobile, una lanterna et duo tintinnabula; feretrum competens ad sepulturam mortuorum, pro cuius usu nihil exigatur, unum vas ad aquam benedictam. Libros autem, missale, breviarium, antiphonarium, graduale, troparium, manuale, psalterium, ordinale in qualibet ecclesia propria volumus contineri.”

That is,

“Concerning the ornaments (or furniture) of their churches,

“Wherefore, &c.—We enjoyn that all things material to a church be cleansed from all noisomeness by a decent covering, and preserved entire according to their aptness, that they may be effulgent with fitting ornaments; that is to say, that in the adorning of the altar in every church, there be three albs, with amices and stoles, and maniples, two surplices and two rochets, two chesibles, two pair of corporals, four consecrated linen cloths, two altar palls, two silver chalices in the greater churches, and a third of pewter unconsecrated, to carry to the sick, two pixes, one of silver, or ivory, or of Limoge work, in which the hosts are to be kept, another decent and fitting in which the oblations are to be deposited; two phials, the one for the wine, the other for the water; one pair of candlesticks, one thurible; one chrismatory decent and fitting; two crosses, one processional, the other for the burial office; one banner, one lenten veil, one ambry stationary; one lantern and two handbells, a proper bier for use at the burial of the dead, and for the use of which nothing should be required; one vessel for holy water; and books, a missal, a breviary, an antiphon, a gradual, a tropery, a manual, a psalter, an ordinal, all of which we require to be kept in every church.”

The demolition of the old Norman nave, and the construction of the tower, nave, and aisles, I attribute to Ralph, Lord Stafford, who, in the middle of the fourteenth century, A.D. 1350, became possessed of the Manor of Rugby, and Advowson, and nominated to the latter on a vacancy. All that now remains of the church, as it existed in the latter half of the fourteenth century, is the tower, four arches separating the nave from the north aisle, and portions of the external walling of the north aisle. The tower is a structure perfectly unique, constructed of large blocks of ashlar: it rises to the height of seventy feet, being finished with an embattled parapet, beneath which is a cornice moulding. In

measurement it is fourteen feet long by thirteen feet wide. The foundations are shallow, occasioned by the nature of the soil and the land springs, which, before the drainage of the town, were met with a little below the surface. At the south-east angle of the tower is a turret staircase, rising four feet and a half higher than the rest of the tower, and the termination of which has been generally known as "the King's chair." Originally this tower had no external entrance, the communication being from the west end of the nave, through a small and plain pointed arched doorway of the fourteenth century. Sometime during the last century an uncouth entrance was cut through the south wall of the tower for the admittance of the ringers. About twenty-five years ago the present doorway and door were constructed at the expense of an individual parishioner, the iron escutcheon on the door bearing a cross raguly, being affixed in memory of Mr. Thomas Lawrence (father of Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.), who died at Rugby in 1797, and was buried in the cemetery adjoining Trinity Church. The lower storey of the tower was intended to be groined, as appears from the springers at each angle. This groining was left for completion to a future age, and that age has not arrived. We not unfrequently find unfinished work of this kind, as also block masonry for sculptured corbels, in our old churches. The fireplace and flue in the west side of the tower is a singular and unusual feature. The four westernmost arches on the north side show the original length of the aisles, but not one of the original windows remains in its integrity. The door of the north aisle, plain pointed and without mouldings, is of the original structure of the fourteenth century.

In the fourteenth century an open screen would have divided the nave from the chancel, and at the east end of each aisle an altar would have been placed, but there is no record of the foundation of any chantry. In all probability there were no seats prior to the fifteenth century.

Up to the middle of the sixteenth century no change appears to have been made in the church since the construction of the principal part of it in the fourteenth century, if we may except the ancient sittings, open and free to all.

In the sixth year of the reign of "that noble Imp." King Edward the Sixth, a general survey was made of church goods throughout different counties. The schedule of those then existing in Rugby Church is as follows:—

"ROOKBY.

"Item, there a oon chalice, iij belles, a clock, a sacring belle.

iij hand belles.

A pix coper.

A pax coper.

two candlesticks, pewter.

two sensers, bras.

A pillowe of silke.

iiij or corporys wth their cases.

viiij altar clothes lynen.

iiij front clothes, oon silke, th' other lynen stayned.

v vestmts silke wth their implemts.

v copes whereof oon is diap'.

iij crosses oon coper gilt, th' other iij bras.
 iij surpleses.
 two cruetts.
 two stremers.
 iij ban' clothes.
 A vaile.
 A pair of organes.
 two holy water potts th' oon bras, th' other led."

It will be seen from the above inventory that the church possessed, what few churches at that time possessed, a clock and a pair of organs.

In the Will of Lawrence Sheriff, Founder of Rugby School, A.D. 1567, is the following bequest:—

"Item. I give & bequeath to the P'sh Church of St. Andrewes, in the sd Towne of Rugby, in the County of Warwicke, the sum of five pounds, to be bestowed there in and upon the making of certaine new Pewes or setes in the sd Church, & that upon the dooers or endes of the same Pewes or Seates the Grocers Armes of London, shall be carved, w^t alsoe the Letters of L. & S. adjoining thereunto."

This is, I think, the earliest, or one of the earliest instances I have met with, of doors affixed to pews. Amongst the Communion plate, the earliest articles consist of a silver Paten and Chalice with this inscription, "The gift of Thomas Shingler, of London, Haberdasher, unto the towne of Rookby, Ann. Dom., 1633. James Nalton then Rector." Thomas Shingler was otherwise a benefactor to the poor of Rugby. James Nalton was the famous Puritan Rector of Rugby in the early part of the seventeenth century. I have many particulars respecting him, and a volume of his sermons, twenty in number, preached in London, and which, being taken down in shorthand, were published after his death, which took place in 1662, by his widow, a second wife; his first wife was buried at Rugby. His funeral sermon, preached by Dr. Horton, I also have, in which this passage occurs: "He was called into the Countrey to *Rugby* in *Warwickshire*, there he continued very fruitful, and did much good." But his sermon preached before the House of Commons in 1646, and for which he was thanked by a vote of that House, I have not got. This sermon, was, however, published, and a copy of it is preserved in the Library of the British Museum. He was called "the weeping Prophet." His name appears amongst those fifty-seven Presbyterian Ministers of the Parish Churches in and about London, who protested, ineffectually, against the execution of the King, Charles the First.

During his incumbency an occurrence took place in the Parish Church of Rugby, of which an account appears in a letter of intelligence on various Ecclesiastical causes dated Leicester, October 23, 1638, written by one Reginald Burden, and addressed to Sir John Lambe, official to the Archdeacon of Buckingham, and Dean of the Arches.

"Mr. Crofts is kept out at Foston, *v^t et armis*, and Mr. Thorneton is Captain of the Company, Mr. Clayton, of Shawell, is the same man. Since your sentence he has been at *Rugby*, and there received the communion at the hands of Mr. Nalton, Parson of Rugby, *standing* and not kneeling."

The Parish Church, as a fabric, does not appear to have been much cared for in the days of Puritan ascendancy. In the year 1652, at the Epiphany Quarter Sessions for the County of Warwick, the Court "being informed that the Parish Church of Rugby is fallen into decay, and some part fallen down, to the endangering of the lives of the people resorting thither for the service of God, order that the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor do make a levy to repair the same." This appears to have been done.

In 1707 Richard Elborowe, Founder of the English School, obtained a faculty for making a vault and erecting a gallery over for the children of that School at the south-west end of the south aisle: this was demolished in 1830, when that aisle was enlarged. The lead coffins of Richard Elborowe and his wife were found in the vault, which was not arched over, and were deposited in the same place, but no stone indicates the position of his burial-place.

The following relative to the bells and chimes was copied by me many years ago from the fly-leaves of an old family bible formerly in the possession of the Hódgkinson family:—

"October the 18th, 1711, being St. Luke, then there was five new bells brought to Rugby. N.B.—There were formerly but four bells, but one of which being crack, i.e., the great bell, the old ones was new cast into five bells by one Smith, a Bell founder, near Birmingham, with the addition of about 2 cwt. weight of new mettall. The five bells being about 30 cwt. weight. Lovel Smith, Pewterer, and William Betts being then Churchwardens."

"June ye 18, 1721.—The new Chymes play'd ye 40 Psalm tune and they also play 'Britons strike home.' Hen. Simcox, of Daventry, ye maker, Matthew Bryan, Churchwarden."

In the year 1743 a faculty was obtained under the seal of the Vicar-General of the Diocese to erect and build a gallery against the north-west of the Parish Church of Rugby, that is, in the north aisle, for the use of the Society or Choir of Singers. This appears to have been subsequently erected at the charge of certain worthy inhabitants of Rugby, viz., Wm. Cave, R. Daniel, R. Hipwell, S. Smith, John Francis, T. Daniel, B. Harrall, G. Scudemore, and John Collis, the latter Clerk of the Church. This gallery was considered by those who contributed to erect it as their own private property, and their shares were bought and sold.

In 1767, soon after the institution of the Rev. Thomas Rowland Berkely as Rector, a plan of the Church with the then sittings was made, previous to the Church being repewed as it now appears.

The old seats were arranged very irregularly, two seats at the east end of the south aisle belonging to the School. The ancient stone font in which the founder of the School, Lawrence Sheriff, had been baptised, occupied its proper position against one of the piers of the south aisle, near the south door. In the repewing, the ancient font was displaced, and,



THE OLD FONT.

in a broken state, served for many years as a trough under the

pump of the yard of the Eagle Inn. The fragments are now in my possession. They are perhaps the only vestiges of Church furniture now existing which can be identified in connection with Lawrence Sheriff. The ancient font was supplanted by a marble basin set on an iron standard, and placed in the nave, near and opposite the door leading into the tower.

But before I proceed further with the Church, a few words on "Cemeterial Civility," showing to what extent the Church, before its first enlargement, was used as a burial place. The Founder of the School, Lawrence Sheriff, was desirous of having his earthly remains interred in the Parish Church of Rugby, near those of his father and mother there buried :—

"My body to the yerth wherof it was first formed, the wch I will shall be decently burried within the Parish Church of St Andrews, in Rugby, but the funeralle to be first done in the Citie of London, whereat I will have a learned man to preach the Word of God, and all other things meete to be done, & after that my body to be decently carried to Rugby, & there buried near the bodyes of my Father & Mother; and y^t there be after a fayre stone laid uppon my Grave with a title thereon declaring the day of my decē & so forth, as my Exōrs & overseers shall think good."

The Church contained no sculptured monuments: the earliest memorials of those buried therein, and which are not more ancient than the seventeenth century, are for the most part obliterated or hidden. Such is the case with the earliest recorded, which was described formerly as follows :—

On a plate of brass, fixed to a flat stone in the Church, were formerly these Arms :—Quarterly first and fourth, on a chevron three escallops, between as many cinquefoils; second and third on a fess wavy, between three griffin's heads erased, a cinquefoil and two roses, with the following inscription :—

"Here lieth the body of Thomas Howkins, who was buried the last day of July, 1652, and was grandsonne to John Howkins and Bridget his Wife, whose Brother founded the Free Schoole and Almshouses in this Towne of Rugby, and gave those yearly gifts which are thereunto now belonging."

Upon a slab leading to the Chancel were these Arms :—Two bars, a lion passant in chief, impaling a bend, between six cross crosets fitchy.

"Infra jacent sepulti
Gulielmi Burnaby, Armigeri,
Ex antiqua admodum Stirpe orti, Sacræ hujus
Ædis Patroni, hujus etiam Pagi Domini, Viri
Probi, Pii et vere Generosi, cineres, Ob 26
Martii, Anno Dom 1690^{mo} Ætat 35^{to}
Infra etiam reposita sunt ossa Gulielmi,
Prædicti Gulielmi Burnaby Filii, in quo terminatur
Prosapia. Ob 30^{mo} Maii, Anno Dom 1715^{to}
Æt 28."

On small slabs near the Chancel :—

"Ed. B. 1705. Hen. Blak, 1698."

On a slab in the Chancel, part of it under a pew :—

"..... the 24th, 1714.
W. Towers, April the 8th, 1717."

But besides the sepulchral memorials over graves in the Church, I have, taken from a memorandum book of an old Clerk, a list of twenty-six persons buried in the Church between the years 1740 and 1767. It is thus headed :—

"1741. AN ACCOUNT OF PERSONS BURIED IN THE CHURCH, WITH THE TIME AND PLACES, IN MY CLERKSHIP.

1741. Octr. 30. Buried Mrs. Mary Brooks. In the Ile near Madam Smith's seat door. Brick grave.

1743. 18 Augt. Buried Mr. Nathaniel Langley, under the seats where the School Young Gentlemen sit.

1744. April 30. Buried the Revd. Mr. Crossfield in y^e chancel on the south side y^e altar.

1744. July 22. Buried Thos. Langley by his Grandfather.

1744. Feby. 1st. Buried Mr. Burnaby Towers close by Mr. Crossfield.

1745. June 11. Buried Peter Caldecott under the seat belonging to the great house at y^e upper end oth town.

1745. March 5. Buried Madam Towers, close by Mr. Burnaby.

1745. March 23d. Buried Mrs. Mary Newton, in the middle Ile att this first end.

1746. April 16. Buried Crofts Dolben under the seat as joins to the Pulpit stairs.

1746. July 3rd. Buried James Walker under his own seat.

1746. July 8. Buried Madam Caldecott in a vault under the seat belonging to the great house at y^e School.

1746. Sept. 30. Buried Mrs. Palmer under Mrs. Errington's seat. Brick grave.

1750. Octr. 23. Buried Mrs. Crofts in the Ile by her own seat door.

1750. Jany. 2nd. Buried Mrs. Jane Smith under the double seat betwixt Mrs. Jarratt's and Mr. Wilson's.

1750. March 21st. Buried Master Parkhurst, of Catesby, in the Ile pretty near the Belfry door.

1753. April 26. Buried Mrs. Hill in the same Ile near the middle Ile.

1756. March 23. Buried Mr. Nathl. Langley in the middle Ile next to the Chancel. A brick grave.

1756. Decr. 12. Buried Mr. Henry Pope in the middle Ile against my seat.

1759. May 16th. A Monument was brought for the Revd. Mr. Crossfield and finish'd putting up the 18th by two men belonging to Mr. Hyorns, of Warwick, a great undertaker.

14 Jany., 1760. Buried Mrs. Margaret Crossfield in the Chancel near the door.

1761. 11 May. Buried Mrs. Mary Jarrett near Mrs. Errington's seat.

1761. 6th August. Buried Jane Caldecott in a grave with her Brother by the side of their own seat. Brick grave.

27th Nov., 1746. Buried Mrs. Mary Senhouse in the Ile going in at y^e south door, head close to Mr. Elbrow's vault. Brick grave.

26 April. Buried Mrs. Sarah Langley in her Brother and Father Langley's Brick grave close by her husband, 1765.

28th Octr., 1765. Buried Robt. King in a vault under y^e seats betwixt the desk & Mr. Burrough's seat.

24th Jany., 1766. Buried Mrs. Eliz Tomlinson in y^e Chancel on y^e south side y^e altar."

We are indebted for the foregoing entries to an old Clerk, John Collis, and it is to be wished that other Clerks would follow his example, and note anything worthy of record in their Parishes. Some 50 years ago I took notes of the monuments and tombstones in the churchyard adjoining St. Andrew's Church. Most of these have since disappeared, but I have preserved the inscription on the tombstone of this worthy, John Collis :—

"In Memory of John Collis, Husband of Mary Collis,
who liv'd in wedlock together 50 years, he served as Parish Clerk 41 years,
and died June 19th, 1781, aged 69 years.

"Him who covered up the Dead
Is himself laid in the same Bed.
Time with his crooked Scythe hath made
Him lay his Mattock down, and spade.
May he and we all meet again
To everlasting life. Amen."

The latest monumental record I have found of one buried in the Church was on a slab in the north aisle, thus engraved :—

"John Howkins,
Died 9th March, 1799, in the 62nd year of his age."

During the present century I do not find the name of any one who was buried in the Church, which had indeed become a perfect Necropolis, and "full of dead men's bones."

A few words on the foregoing list of those buried in the Church. Of "Master Parkhurst" there is no inscribed memorial. A younger son of John Parkhurst, Esq., of Catesby Priory, near Daventry, and a younger brother of the Rev. John Parkhurst, the celebrated Lexicographer and Hebrew Scholar, Charles Parkhurst was entered at Rugby School in 1748, at the early age of eight years. He died on the 17th of March, 1750, aged ten years.

It is not my intention to give the inscriptions on the mural monuments which grace the walls of the chancel and south aisle of the Church, with two exceptions.

The first is on a mural tablet, designed by Hiorns, of Warwick, a local architect of considerable taste, who materially improved the original elevation of the new Schoolroom at Rugby, erected about the year 1750. On this, the only memorial in the Church to a Headmaster of the School, is the following inscription, written by Dr. Knaib, who succeeded Mr. Crossfield as master :—

"Studiis humanioribus

In Coll. Reginæ apud Oxoniensium inter populares suos feliciter absolutus
THOMAS CROSSFIELD, A.M., ingenii et industriæ fructus contulit ad usus rei-
publicæ et informandos puerorum animos, provinciam æquè arduam ac utilem ;
ad quam tamen administrandam mirè aptum effinxerat natura, perfecerat usus
et disciplina. In obeundo munere emicuit diligentia, humanitas, fides, in toto
vitæ curriculo, antiqua morum simplicitas, modestia singularis. Animus vere
liberalis, ambitioni et lucro aversus, amicorum commodis intentior quam suis.
Scholis Daventriensi et Prestonensi per plures annos præfuit, pari laude et
successu præceptor vigilantissimus, Rugbæam demum invitatus fama præeunte
et commendante splendide dux coloniz huc migravit ; summis omnium votis,
summâ omnium expectatione quam morte solâ fefellit, die Aprilis 27^o Anno
Æræ Christianæ, 1744, ætatis suæ 36^o

"Margaretta Uxor M.P.

Juxta conduntur cineres Thomæ Crossfield, Filii

Nati 12^o Maii 1742, Denati 6^{to} Martii 1748.

Maria Crossfield eorum filia

obiit undecimo die Januarii, Anno Domini.

1802."

On a plain mural tablet affixed to the wall of the south aisle is an inscription, written by the Rev. Thomas James, D.D., Head Master of the School, to the memory of one of his Scholars :—

" M.S.
 Spearmanni Wasey,
 Scholæ Rugbeensis Alumnî, Gulielmî
 Spearmanni
 Wasey (Regiorum Equitum olim e præfectis) et
 Elizabethæ
 Honoræ uxoris suæ Filii. Obit x Kal. Sep.
 A.D. MDCCCLXXXV. ætatis suæ XV.
 Innocens et perbeatus more florum decidi.
 Quid viator fles sepultum? fiente sum felicior."

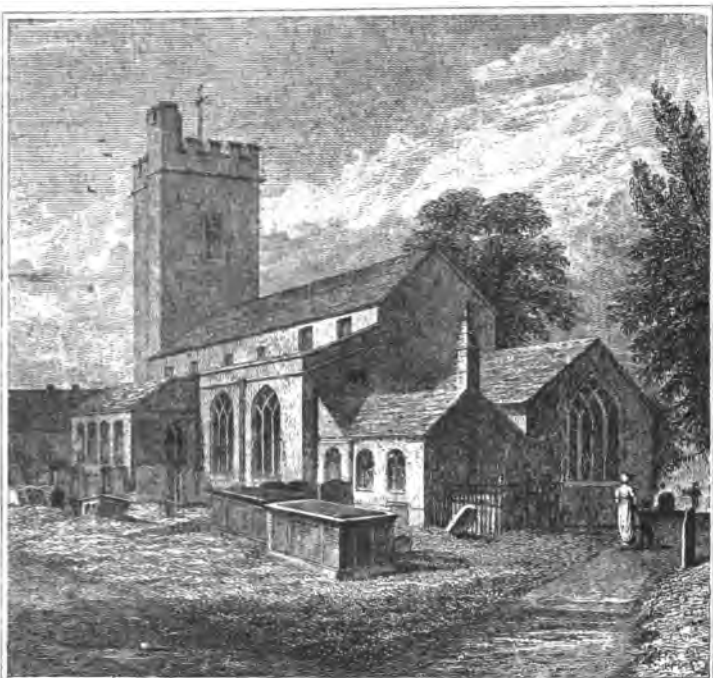
I have been thus particular in giving the above inscriptions, as I know not what may become of the monuments, which on a reconstruction of a Church are too often needlessly disregarded, either buried in foundations or removed as far as possible out of sight, so as to render the inscriptions unreadable. The monument to Mr. Crossfield appears originally to have been affixed to the wall over his grave on the north side of the old chancel, and thence, in 1814, removed to a corresponding position in the present chancel. There are mural tablets in the Church to members of the families of Caldecott, Chambers, and Wratislaw. It will be for the representatives of those families to watch over such and see that they are properly disposed of. There is no monument in the Church to a single Rector of Rugby. There is but one monument in the Churchyard of so early a date as the sixteenth century. This is a high tomb of Harleston stone near the door leading into the Parsonage garden. It is uninscribed or the inscription has become obliterated. I think it denotes the burial-place of "Jane Nalton, the deare wife of James Nalton," the famous Puritan Rector of Rugby. She was buried the 23rd of July, 1641, and this tomb would agree with that period.

The repewing of the Church in the present style took place, I think, between the years 1767-70, but I can find no definitive time as to when, or by whose expense, this work was done.

The first external addition to the original structure of the Church was a lean-to building at the west end of the south aisle, having no internal communication with the Church, but built for the reception of a fire-engine, which, in 1774, was presented to the town by one William Wilson, if I rightly recollect the inscription upon it. It was brought out annually, on Easter Monday, for exercise in the Market Place.

I do not know when the School gallery, over the chancel, was first erected. I imagine it to have been constructed when the Church was repewed. I find from the diary of a Rugby School-boy in 1779, an entry of its "being made bigger." It continued to be used by the School till the year 1814. I can just remember it: half the School went to Church in the morning, the other half in the afternoon, and service for those who were not at Church, was performed both morning and afternoon, in the Great School; but the gallery being insufficient to accommodate, in 1813, even one-half of the School, boys were scattered over the Church in different pews, and at the conclusion of the service had to answer to their names as they were called over by a Præpostor in the front row of the gallery. On the enlargement of the Church





STOBY CHURCH, AND TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.



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Orig. by W. Radcliffe.

To H^{on} J^{ames} Esq. this Plate is respectfully dedicated
by his Obedient and humble Servant
C. Prater.

in 1814, the School no longer attended the Church, but had divine service in the Great School till the year 1820, when the School Chapel—the first stone of which was laid, I think, on Founder's Day, 1817 or 1818, I remember being present—was opened for service.

In 1792 the organ at the west end of the Church, which had previously been in the Church of Norton-by-Galby, Leicestershire, being for sale, was purchased for Rugby Church by subscription, the sum collected for that purpose being £395. 2s. 3d.

This organ is said to have been built originally by the celebrated Father Schmidt, who flourished from A.D. 1680 to A.D. 1706. From "A Short Account of Organs built in England from the Reign of King Charles the Second to the present time," 12mo., 1847, the following extract is taken, which attributes the construction of this organ to a different builder:—

"The organs of Cathedrals and great Churches having been mostly destroyed during the Commonwealth, there was a great demand for new ones at the Restoration, but only four builders are known to have been then in business, in this country. These were Ralph Dallans, who built the organ now at Rugby, and who died A.D. 1672; Bernard Schmidt, A.D. 1680 to 1706; Harris; Snetzler."

I apprehend the organ gallery, originally confined to the west end of the nave, was at this time constructed.

In 1797 the first addition was made to the Church on the south side eastward of the south door, by a plain brick structure, lighted on the south side by four semicircular-headed windows; the space thus included was 26 feet in length from west to east, and 12 feet in width from north to south. This addition is plainly visible in the view of the Church here given.

In the year 1814 the Church was materially enlarged by the extension of the two aisles eastward as far as the east end of the chancel, which was demolished and the present chancel and vestry room projecting eastward constructed. This work was carried out under no architectural superintendence: indeed, there was at that time no one except the architect of the School, Mr. Hakewill, who could have prepared anything like an architectural plan, and he does not appear to have been advised with or his opinion invited. No one was capable of watching over the demolition of the chancel and old eastern walls of the original aisles, and the opportunity of examining the details of construction and architectural features was lost. The windows of the north aisle as they now appear were then inserted. An engraved representation of the Church as it appeared from the south-east is given in "Pretty's History of Rugby."

In or about the year 1830 the south aisle of the Church was further enlarged, as it now appears. Mr. Rickman, a well-known Birmingham architect, was called in. The piers and arches of the nave on the south side, which were similar to those as they now appear on the north, were supplanted by cast iron shafts and arches with wooden caps. The south wall of white brick contained a series of windows with tracery in the Decorated style of the

fourteenth century, but there was an absence of buttresses, and of an east window, the east wall exhibiting its present bare appearance.

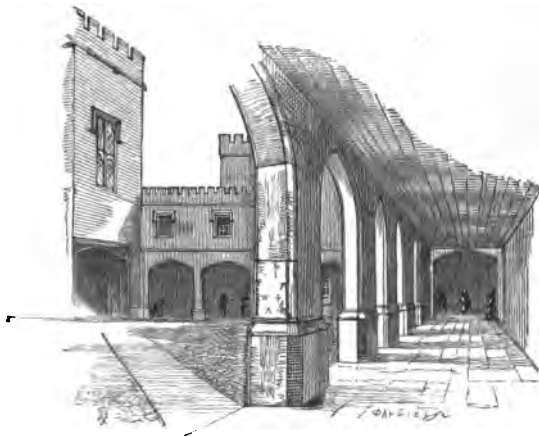
The south doorway, a fine Decorated doorway of the fourteenth century with numerous roll mouldings and intervening hollows, by far the most interesting portion of the old Church, as to architectural taste and detail, might have been reconstructed, but, on its demolition, the fragments were thrown into the foundation of the wall on the south side. Internally the east and west galleries were continued across this aisle. The Elborowe gallery was taken down, and the vault with the lead coffins of Richard Elborowe and his wife exposed to view. The peeling off of the whitewash on the wall at the back of this gallery disclosed features of decorative pattern painting in fresco of the fourteenth century, but no figures.

In 1841 the organ was enlarged as it now appears. On taking the old organ down Scriptural sentences in black letter of the Elizabethan period, painted on the west wall, came to light.

In 1846 the marble basin on an iron standard was removed to make way for the present font of Caen stone, which was the gift of a parishioner.

The several articles of Church plate have also been the gifts of individual parishioners and bear their names.

In the reconstruction of the Church, or the greater part of it, one could have wished for a design to have been set forth, in these critical days, neither sordid or sluttish, nor yet light and garish, or pretentious and glaring, but comely and venerable; but this, I fear, will not be the case.



THE SCHOOL QUADRANGLE.

ROADS AND RUNS ROUND RUGBY.

I. THE CLIFTON BROOK.*

Ah, happy hills! ah, pleasing shade!
 Ah, fields belov'd in vain!
 Where once my careless childhood stray'd
 A stranger yet to pain!

Gray.

On emerging eastward from Church Street, Rugby, on the road to Clifton-on-Dunsmore, in which parish Rugby was, some seven hundred years ago, a mere hamlet, we first pass by Trinity Schools, a plain structure devoid of architectural merit, but built at the expense of the late Lord of the Manor, Thomas Caldecott, Esquire, whose beneficence to Rugby was neither slight nor unimportant. The site on which these schools stand possesses some slight historic interest, for some fifty years ago, and previously, it was occupied by a horsepool, in which the ancient ducking stool used to be placed. In the constable's accounts for the parish of Rugby, for the year 1721, is an item dated June 25, "pd for a lock for ye Ducking Stool and spent in Towne business, 0 0 6d." The Ducking Stool appears to have been in requisition so late as the middle of the last century, since its existence and the *modus operandi* is alluded to by one who was then at school.

We next pass by Trinity Church, with its merits and defects. The unfinished and poverty stricken tower, the want of proportion in some of its parts, especially in the chancel, is obvious. It is only exceeded in the lack of taste by the new Parish Church. Proceeding onward we come to the Subordinate Schools. Of these I shall only remark that the effigy of Lawrence Sheriff over the entrance has been crammed into a *niche* far too small to receive it properly, and that from its exposure to the north, the features and details of costume will, within a few years, become obliterated. It ought to have been placed within the principal schoolroom. Passing onwards by the site of the old Whitehall, we come to the Rugby Cemetery, opened for interments some seventeen years ago, during which period some seventeen hundred bodies have been inhumed. We still continue onwards on the table-land until we arrive at the bridge over the railway. We then rapidly descend the hill and arrive at the bridge over the Clifton Brook just beyond which, on the right, is the famed "Butler's Leap." The brook has evidently changed from its pristine condition, the canal which runs parallel with it eastward has cut off the watershed on that side; on the opposite side at no great distance is the railway. Rising about Barby Nortofo, the brook gradually flows into the Avon at a point near to Brownsover Mill. Along the road crossing the brook was it that a few days before the battle of Naseby, so disastrous to the Royal cause, fought on the 14th of

* *Meteor*, No. 161, April 13, 1881.

June, 1645, a party of the King's Life Guards, who had been quartered at Willoughby, six miles south of Rugby, proceeded to join His Majesty at his head-quarters at Lubenham, two miles on this side of Market Harborough.

The Rev. Christopher Harvey, Esquire, for he was known by both appellations, a Christian Poet of the seventeenth century (is not his name associated with that of George Herbert, of Bemerton?) was Vicar of Clifton-upon-Dunsmore from 1639 to 1663. He was, during the last ten years of his life, a Trustee of Rugby School. At Clifton-upon-Dunsmore he, in all probability, wrote his *Schola Cordis*, "The School of the Heart," the first edition of which was published in 1647. In the same year was published the second edition of that better-known work of his, viz., "The Synagogue, or, the Shadow of the Temple, Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations, in imitation of Mr. George Herbert." When the first edition of this work made its appearance I have been unable to ascertain. It is not mentioned in Bohn's edition of Lowndes'



TRINITY CHURCH AND THE OLD WHITEHALL.

Bibliographical Manual, but I possess the second edition, "corrected and enlarged," a small duodecimo, published without the name of the author in 1647. May we not fairly presume that part, at least, of the one work, and the whole of the other work, were written whilst Christopher Harvey was Vicar of Clifton, and at Clifton, and is it a far-fetched and unreasonable supposition that in the meditations on the composition of these works or some portion, Christopher Harvey rambled to the verge of his parish, as to a place meet for the Muses, to the banks of the Clifton Brook? Would that we had notice of a visit of Izaak Walton, that Prince of Anglers, to his friend Christopher Harvey, at Clifton, and of a pleasant ramble with rod and line along the banks of the Clifton Brook!

Christopher Harvey died in 1663, and is buried at Clifton, but a memorial of his sojourn is wanting. There is, however, in the Churchyard, south of the chancel, a low raised tomb uninscribed, or the inscription worn away, which, from the moulding round the ledger slab, is of the seventeenth century, and this I would fain ascribe to him. To use his words:—

"Life is a journey, from our Mothers' wombs,
As houses, we set out, and in our tombs,
As Inns, we rest, till it be time to rise."

At Clifton was born, in 1686, one of our most celebrated Rugbeians, Thomas Carte, the historian of no mean fame. Baptized by immersion on the 23rd of April, 1686, he was entered at Rugby School in 1695, his domicile then being at Claybrooke in Leicestershire, and he but nine years of age. I can hardly, however, connect him, as I wish I could, with the Clifton Brook. Within three years of his birth, his father, the Rev. Samuel Carte, Vicar of Clifton, relinquished his preferment at that place, and migrated from thence, so that Thomas Carte only spent the early part of his infancy at Clifton. As a celebrated Old Rugbeian his name is not likely to lapse into oblivion. His principal works may be found in the School Library. His *History of England* is in four volumes, folio; his *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, in three volumes, folio; and his edition of *Thuanus*, in, I think, seven volumes, folio. Of his minor works I do not treat. Some few years ago his name was mentioned with great commendation in both Houses of Parliament. He died in 1754, and his remains were consigned to the grave in the village church at Yattendon, Berks. The following entry of his burial is inserted in the register by Dr. Bellas, then Rector of Yattendon:—

"The Rev. Thomas Carte, editor of *Thuanus' History of his Own Times*, and author of a *Life of the great Duke of Ormond*, and a general *History of England*, by which, and other pieces he approved himself one of the best writers of his time, died at Caldecot, near Abingdon, on Tuesday, April 2, and was buried at Yattendon in a vault on the north side of the Chancel the 11th, 1754, by me George Bellas."

Of this celebrated man, whose eventful life was one of labour and trouble in a laudable desire to benefit his country, his works are the only, but most fitting memorial.

In the year 1777, a boy, twelve years of age, was entered at Rugby School. At that time the charge for board was but £14. per annum, and, as might be expected, the boys were not overfed, and besides this each boy was required to bring with him to school a drinking horn. This boy was for a time miserable; he sighed for home comforts, and determined to run away. His *dulce domum* was at Market Harborough. Along the Clifton Road therefore he ventured; there were then no houses between Rugby and Clifton. I doubt even whether the "Whitehall," now demolished, was then in existence. Unobserved, therefore, he proceeded on the road till he arrived at the Clifton Brook. At the sight of this his heart failed him, wiser thoughts came to his assistance, and he returned back quicker than he went, and arrived at the School just in time to avoid being missed. He had previously written home to say he never could live at Rugby, it was such an odd town. His destiny proved otherwise; he subsequently lived at Rugby between 50 and 60 years. In fact, this juvenile runaway, whose career was thus timely altered, as a Scholar, an Exhibitioner, a Master, and a Fellow, was, with the intermission of one year only, for 63 successive years a Member of Rugby School.

The Clifton Brook had no particular reputation for leaping purposes when I left School in 1821, now 60 years ago. I think it became famed in Dr. Arnold's time, *circa* 1830-35, as the favourite leaping place for the School. From which of the Butlers, there were five of that name, entered respectively in 1783, 1841, 1851, 1859, and 1862, "Butler's Leap" took its name, is to me an unsolved problem. It may have been the second of these, viz., Spencer Percival Butler, son of the Rev. Dr. Butler, of Gayton, Northamptonshire, and some time Dean of Peterborough, entered at School in 1841, aged 12; he it is to whom I have heard this leap attributed, but of this I know not for a certainty. "We shall all be forgotten in time." It may be for some present Rugbeian to solve the question.

ROADS AND RUNS ROUND RUGBY.

II. THE HILLMORTON ROAD, AND THE CRICK.*

That honoured institution the Crick Run, though of no great antiquity, having been started considerably within the last 50 years, though its origin is now lost in oblivion, will recur in the pleasures of memory, in future years, to many an Old Rugbeian, as it has hitherto done. Few, however, are aware that the route along the road on the return from Crick, is full of historic interest. When, early in July, 1460, Henry the VI. with his army, marched from his favourite city, Coventry, to Northampton, to withstand the forces of the adherents of the Duke of York, commanded by his son the Earl of March, afterwards Edward the IV., it can hardly be doubted, but that he, and his warlike Queen, Margaret of Anjou, would take the shortest route, which would be through Rugby and Hillmorton. He would hardly avoid stopping to refresh himself at Rugby, at the Grange of the Monks of Pipewell (for there was no castle or manorial residence at Rugby, of a capacity fit to receive him), the moated site of which, in the School Close, I well remember. It may have been his casual stay at this Grange that caused the Monks of Pipewell, a famous Cistercian Abbey in Northamptonshire, after his murder, and the attempt at his canonization, to venerate his memory: accordingly on the dissolution of that monastery, we find amongst the goods in the church there an image of King Henry, by them regarded as a Saint. Of his army whilst at Coventry I have relics: two long-necked spurs, not a pair, and a baselard, anelace, or dagger. These were found in cleansing the river at Coventry, and were given to me some years ago by the oldest Rugbeian, as to entry, now living, General Whichcote, who entered Rugby School in 1803, now 79 years ago.

* *Meteor*, No. 171, Feb. 14, 1882.

The route of Henry VI. from Rugby to Northampton was through Hillmorton and Kilsby, at least this was the route two centuries later, as I shall be presently well able to shew.

The battle of Northampton was fought on the 9th of July, 1460. The King's army was discomfited, and no less than 10,000 tall Englishmen were slain. The King himself, who "studied nothing but of peace, quiet and solitary life," was taken prisoner, but his warlike Queen escaped, and retired northwards.

Some ten years after this, viz., in 1470, the King was murdered in the Tower of London.

Hall, the chronicler, in summing up his character, says of him :—

"This Kyng Henry was of a liberall mynde, and especially to such as loued good learning, and them whom he sawe profite in any verteous science, he hartely fauured and embraced, wherefore he firste holpe his awne young scholers to attaine to discipline, and for them he founded a solemne school at Eton, a towne next unto Wyndsore, in which he hath established an honest College of sad Priestes, with a greate nombre of children whiche bee there, of his coste frankeley and frely taught the eruditaments and rules of grammar."

King Henry VI. founded Eton College in 1440; Rugby School was founded 127 years afterwards, viz., in 1567.

One hundred and forty-seven years had elapsed, when in the month of May, 1607, a rising of the Commonalty took place at Hillmorton, where 3000 persons assembled from the neighbouring villages, and agrarian offences were committed, and a strong body of forces under the Earls of Huntingdon and Essex, and the Earl Zouch, was sent to reduce them to order. Early in the Civil Wars, viz., in August, 1642, Rugby, then a town of 900 inhabitants, disaffected to the Crown, was for a while garrisoned by two Royalist troops of horse, one of which, under command of Captain Smith, marched from Rugby to Hillmorton, and thence to Kilsby, to disarm the inhabitants of that place: this was done, but not without loss of life, and was one of the earliest incidents in the Civil Wars. I am obliged to omit the interesting details. In the following months we have notice in a letter from one Wharton, a Parliamentary officer, quartered at Spratton, in Northamptonshire, of his march from thence to Rugby :—

"Munday morning (19th September), our regiment began to march towards Warwickshire, and passed through West Haddon, Creeke, and Hillmorton, where we had a supply of drink, which upon a march is very rare and extraordinary welcome, and at the end of ten miles we came to Rugby in Warwickshire, where we had good quarter."

A letter from Northampton, dated the 31st March, 1645, says :—

"Yesterday being the Lord's Day, Lieut.-General Cromwell being at this town of Northampton, with a good body of horse and foot, by the advice of his Council of War marched from thence to Rugby, in Warwickshire, where they intended to quarter that night, about sixteen miles march, and after their muster to march towards Coventry."

In Ogilby's road book, published in the reign of Charles the Second, the route from Northampton to Coventry is thus laid down: Brington, Long Buckby, Watford, Watford Gap, Kilsby, Hillmorton, Rugby, &c. It was along that road that William the Third, on the 5th of June, 1690, passed from Northampton to Rugby, on his way to Ireland.

In 1745-6 much marching of troops took place between Northampton and Lichfield, as the Chevalier Prince Charles, known by many as the young Pretender, would, it was supposed, endeavour to force his way somewhere between those two points in his projected advance on London. On one of these occasions William, Duke of Cumberland, Commander of the English Army, passed through Hillmorton in his carriage and six, westward; the troops on march at Hillmorton halted and were drawn up on either side the Upper Street, and were regaled with beer brought to them in buckets. I have this from an eye-witness, an old lady whom I knew in early life. Late in the 17th century, the coach from Lichfield to London passed through Hillmorton, where the passengers slept the night. Thus in the Diary of Sir Wm. Dugdale:—

“1776, July 18, I came out of London to Brickhill by Litchfield coach; 19 to Hillmorton, 20 to Coleshill.”

There are other entries in his diary to the same effect.

The earliest run, which by anticipation in a certain sense, may be called a Crick Run, was undertaken some 70 years ago, by a junior at Rugby School, an adventurous youth desirous of roaming, who ran away from School to his grandfather at Northampton, passing through Crick. By way of amusement he kicked his hat before him; in a short time it became a shocking bad hat and unwearable. Footsore and bareheaded, he at length reached his grandfather's house, who was so far from caressing him, that he refused to see him, but ordered that he should be put into a warm bath and sent to bed. The following morning he was sent back, properly attended, in a chaise to School; there he received, *more temporum*, the meed of his exploit.

ROADS AND RUNS ROUND RUGBY.

III. THE BARBY ROAD AND RUN.*

Seventy years ago the Barby Road was the most trist and least frequented of any road out of Rugby. It resembled nothing more or less than a wide lane; near the town it was bounded on the west by a straggling hedge fence interspersed with hedge-row timber, and the trees still existing in the School Close on the east side, shew the line of the old fence bordering the road, but the road in its width was not on a level. On the west it gradually sloped on a decline to the fence, forming a wide and shallow but dry ditch, with nothing to break the monotony but the parish pound. This stood, not on the spot it now occupies, but near the gate at the north-east corner of the Close. The space not taken up by the hard-made surface of the road was considerable,

* *Meteor*, No. 174, April 5, 1882.

and on a summer evening enlivened by lads from the town, who resorted hither as a *quasi* playground, there being no Recreation Field for their enjoyment. The herbage and soil of this waste piece of ground had been by the award of the Inclosure Act of 1774, allotted to the proprietor for the time being of the land on the east side of the road, who had the right to depasture but not to enclose; and about sixty years ago, the then proprietor of the herbage and soil of this piece of waste land, sold his rights over this portion of the road, for a certain pecuniary consideration, to the Trustees of Rugby School, who filled up the wide ditch-like space, on a level with the Close, and enclosed it so as to make it a part of the Close, *nemine contradicente*, the space thus enclosed being not less than half an acre in extent, or thereabouts. There were no buildings on the east side of the road, but opposite the Close was a garden wall of considerable extent, and further on, straggling fences of quickset formed the boundaries of the road. The road was little used, except for agricultural purposes, of which a farm house on the right beyond the brook reaped the greater advantage; in other respects, it was little more than an enclosed drift road to the fields on either side. The road in appearance did not realize the Gainsborough scene of a country lane: it was wide, the fences on either side were straggling and uncared for, except as fences, and there was but little hedgerow timber. Dreary, indeed, and desolate was the scene, enlivened a little about the site of the Water Tower, not then in existence, by blackberry scrub, in the season not unwelcome to those wandering out of bounds.

So forlorn and out-of-the-world in its surroundings was this road, that one adventurous youth who entered the School seventy-two years ago, bethought him of an expedient, which might prove a nine days' wonder. Associating with himself one or two of his companions, kindred spirits, he found a place in one of the banks, partly concealed by blackberry bushes. Here they contrived to scallop in the bank a kind of theatrical appearance of the entrance into a cave. Then, having procured an old waistcoat, they cut it in gashes, and having procured, without great difficulty, some blood from one of the butchers, they smeared the waistcoat with it, and then left it, as if casually, at the presumed entrance of the cave. They then contrived to spread a report of a supposed murder having been committed, and of the discovery of a Robber's Cave.

Newspapers were not so rife in those days as at the present time, and no report of this wonderful discovery appeared in print, but a fair number of spectators visited the spot only to find they had been sold.

The road has been since so altered at the sides, the scrub cleared away, and the hedges trimmed, that there remains no indication of the spot where this sensational transaction took place.

But a word on this adventurous youth. He was fond of an easy and open-air life, and could not abide the Latin grammar; in other words, as to his lessons, he was incorrigibly idle.

One day the mistress of his boarding-house, a sister of his house master, a very worthy lady, ventured to reprimand him for

some fault, "Don't you know," said she, "that I stand in your mother's shoes," the good lady happening to have on a very old and much-worn pair of slippers, a strange contrast to those worn by that celebrated heroine of romance, Cinderella; but our friend, not recognizing the metaphorical dictum of the lady, but rather choosing to place on it a literal interpretation, immediately responded, and pointing to the slippers, exclaimed, "I'm sure my mother never wore such a pair of shoes as those in all her life."

Our friend's home was in the centre of a neighbouring county, to which there was no immediate access by public conveyance, railways were unknown, and a gig had to be sent to Rugby at the breaking-up, to convey him across the country to *dulce domum*. One breaking-up day arrived and he saw his companions leave in their several parties, as arranged at the commencement of the half-year. One of his schoolfellows had given him an old hat, an article which was in general with him quite a superfluity, and caps were at that time held much in the same estimation as square caps were by the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth. The hat thus given was a friendly act to enable him to make a decent appearance in travelling homewards, but being much too large for his head, he thought to diminish the size, by thrusting a towel into the crown; this made a more tolerable fit. All his school companions had now left, and he lingered alone at his boarding-house, vainly expecting, or perhaps not giving a thought about it, the arrival of his gig, but it came not either then or on the following day. On the third day, he was questioned whether he had been particular in writing home, which he was expected to do, to inform his friends of the breaking-up day, when he was fain to acknowledge he had not written home at all, and this accounted for the non-appearance of the gig.

From being his own enemy, and neglecting his opportunity at School (a neglect not easily rectified in after-life), he was, when he left, unfitted for any civil employment. Our colonies were not then, as they are now, open to adventurous youths; some of them indeed hardly existed, and even now many who have misspent their early years either at school or college are forced to work at manual labour on the roads.

Of then a wild and roving disposition, he betook himself as a free lance to some one of the states on the western coast of South America, then commencing their struggle for independence. Here, in an encounter with the Spanish forces, he received his death wound: this was some sixty years ago. Had he lived in these days, the rough life of a Texan Settler might have suited him. His school career, however, is not to be commended, or upheld as an example to be followed.

Having passed the brook at the bottom of the hill, and the farmhouse retired from the road, we may observe on the right a meadow with a little streamlet running through it, and in it a small clump of trees. Here it was that a former possessor of this property left directions by will to be buried. He was an Old Rugbeian, but of a somewhat eccentric turn of mind, and the reason by him given to some of his friends for this whimsical wish

was that his ghost might frighten anyone wandering along this road at night, very much fatigued with drinking, and swaying from one side of the road to the other, like the tacking about of a cutter in an adverse wind. The expressed wish of this Old Rugbeian was, however, not complied with: residing and dying at a distance from hence, he was buried in the churchyard of the locality in which he had spent the last years of his life.

Ascending the hill we approach the Water Tower, a structure little more than thirty years old. Close to this is the attempted boring of an artesian well to supply the town with water. A brine spring was sprung at the depth of 1100 feet, and the water rose rapidly to near the surface, but the nature of the element was not immediately discernible, and it was pumped up into the tank at the top of the tower, hence it was distributed by gravitation over the town. The inmates of the boarding-houses adjoining the Barby Road were one morning disagreeably surprised and annoyed at the brackish taste of the water supplied for breakfast. The truth of the matter was soon ascertained, and the supply of water from the artesian boring discontinued. Pursuing our way we arrive at the distance of a mile and a half from Rugby, at a cross road, formerly the turnpike road from Northampton to Dunchurch, on the way to Coventry and the West, and this road has its historic reminiscences. Along this road, westward, on the 20th of August, 1642, the Earl of Essex, the Lord General of the Parliamentary forces, marched with his army from Northampton to a rendezvous on Dunsmore Heath, about two miles westward, near the lodge entrance to Bilton Grange. He was accompanied by the Earl of Stamford, Colonel Cholmley, and Colonel Hampden—the latter a venerable name in English history. Amongst the forces were many troops of horse and eighteen field pieces; the latter were in general of very small bore.

Again, in the rising of 1745-6, when the Scottish army was expected to break through, on their intended route for London, between Northampton and Lichfield, there was a constant movement of troops between these two points, and along this road, and a camp was formed on Meriden Heath, the locality of which is now unknown.

This was also in the seventeenth century, in the reign of Charles the Second, a coach road for a three days' journey by coach from Warwickshire up to London.

Crossing this high road, we enter a lane, and descend the hill to Rainsbrook, a petty rivulet, forming here the boundary between the counties of Warwick and Northampton. Of this streamlet, a legend—the origin of which I have been unable to trace, though it is probably of no great antiquity—runs to this effect: that between this and Barby Wood a fierce battle is to be fought one of these days; three kings are to be present, and a miller with two thumbs on one hand is to hold their horses. Rainsbrook, this petty stream, is to flow with blood. But when this event is to come off, the most knowing of sporting men would hardly venture to predict. It is but fair to state that the same legend is told of other places. After passing the brook, the road to Barby becomes a drift road

through fields, and would be somewhat hard to trace of a night, except by the initiated. From the high ground about Barby the Malvern Hills are said to be visible, on a clear morning in the spring. Of the Barby Ghost I can say nothing, except that there exists an account of it in print, which I have not yet been able to meet with.*

* The following account of "the Barby Ghost" is taken from *Glimpses of the Supernatural*, edited by the Rev. F. G. Lee, D.C.L., Vicar of All Saints', Lambeth. "A house at Barby, a small village about eight miles from Rugby, was reputed to be haunted, and this under the following circumstances:—An old woman of the name of Webb, a native of the place, and above the usual height, died on March 3, 1851, at two A.M., aged sixty-seven. Late in life she had married a man of some means, who having pre-deceased her, left her his property, so that she was in good circumstances. Her chief and notorious characteristic, however, was excessive penuriousness, being remarkably miserly in her habits: and it is believed by many in the village that she thus shortened her days. Two of her neighbours, women of the names of Griffin and Holding, nursed her during her last illness, and her nephew, Mr. Hart, a farmer in the village, supplied her temporal needs; in whose favour she had made a will, by which she bequeathed to him all her possessions.

"About a month after the funeral Mrs. Holding, who, with her uncle, lived next door to the house of the deceased (which had been entirely shut up since the funeral), was alarmed and astonished at hearing loud and heavy thumps against the partition wall, and especially against the door of a cupboard in the room wall, with other strange noises, like the dragging of furniture about the rooms, though all the furniture had been removed, and the house was empty. These were chiefly heard about two o'clock in the morning.

"Early in the month of April a family of the name of Accleton, much needing a residence, took the deceased woman's house, the only one in the village vacant, and bringing their goods and chattels, proceeded to inhabit it. The husband was often absent, but he and his wife occupied the room in which Mrs. Webb had died, while their daughter, a girl about ten years of age, slept in a small bed in the corner. Violent noises in the night were heard about two o'clock, thumps, tramps, and tremendous crashes, as if all the furniture had been collected together, and then violently banged on to the floor. One night at two A.M. the parents were suddenly awakened by the violent screams of the child, 'Mother, mother, there's a tall woman standing by my bed, a-shaking her head at me!' The parents could see nothing, so did their best to quiet and compose the child. At four o'clock they were again awakened by the child's screams, for she had seen the woman again; in fact she appeared to her no less than seven times, on seven subsequent nights.

"Mrs. Accleton, during her husband's absence, having engaged her mother to sleep with her one night, was suddenly aroused at the same hour of two by a strange and unusual light in her room. Looking up she saw quite plainly the spirit of Mrs. Webb, which moved towards her with a gentle appealing manner, as though it would have said, 'Speak, speak!'

"This spectre appeared likewise to a Mrs. Radbourne, a Mrs. Griffiths, and a Mrs. Holding. They assert that luminous balls of light hovered about the room during the presence of the spirit, and that streams of light seemed to go up towards a trap-door in the ceiling, which led to the roof of the cottage. Each person who saw it testified likewise to hearing a low, unearthly, moaning noise,—'strange and unnatural-like,' but somewhat similar in character to the moans of the woman in her death-agony.

"The subject was, of course, discussed; and Mrs. Accleton suggested that its appearance might not be connected with the existence of money hoarded up in the roof, an idea which may have arisen from the miserly habits of the dead woman. This hint having been given to and taken by her nephew, Mr. Hart, the farmer, he proceeded to the house, and with Mrs. Accleton's personal help made a search. The loft above was totally dark, but by the aid of a candle there was discovered, firstly, a bundle of writings, old deeds, as they

In conclusion, I must return to that part of the road near to Rugby. Far from its former dreary appearance, it is now, for upwards of a mile, one of the most enjoyable roads out of Rugby for a stroll. Three boarding-houses connected with the School adjoin it; the grounds of the Roman Catholic College, shut out by a wall, bound it on the west; a preparatory boarding-school, with its cheerful-looking playground, bounds the road on the east, and further on is the site, on the east side of the road, for an intended new hospital, the result of private munificence, the elevation of which, it is to be hoped, will exhibit a greater degree of taste than many recent erections in Rugby.

ROADS AND RUNS ROUND RUGBY.

IV. THE DUNCHURCH ROAD.*

When Ogilby, the cosmographer to King Charles the Second, published, in 1674, the first edition of his "Brittannia," being a description of the principal roads throughout the kingdom, illustrated with maps on a scale of a mile to an inch, we find both Dunchurch and Rugby mentioned, though on parallel lines of roads; the one on the great highway between London and Coventry, the other on the highway between Cambridge and Coventry. Between the two places, however, Dunchurch and Rugby, a distance of three miles, there appears to have been but a beaten track. Of this I find the first notice, that has come to my knowledge, in papers relating to the Gunpowder Plot, allusion to which was made in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1605. Following up the information thus obtained, I was enabled, some twenty years ago, through the courtesy of the then Master of the Rolls, the late Lord Romilly, to obtain a note of introduction to the then Official Keeper of the State Paper Office in Fetter Lane, London, giving me liberty to transcribe, for literary purposes, from such documents as I might require. At my request I had all the original documents relating to the Gunpowder Plot set before me for perusal, and for the transcription of such as I might desire.

From these I copied the examination of one Bennette Leeson, taken at Daventry on the 7th day of November, 1605, before Sir Easeby Andrew, Knight, and Thomas Burnaby, Esq., as follows:—

turned out to be, and afterwards a large bag of gold and bank-notes, out of which the nephew took a handful of sovereigns, and exhibited them to Mrs. Accleton. But the knockings, moanings, strange noises, and other disturbances did not cease upon this discovery. They did cease, however, when Mr. Hart, having found that certain debts were owing by her, carefully and scrupulously paid them. So much for the account of the Haunted House at Barby. The circumstances were most carefully investigated by Sir Charles Isham, Bart., and others, the upshot of which was that the above facts were, to the complete satisfaction of numerous enquirers, completely verified." (Vol. II., p. 109.)

* *Meteor*, No. 179, July 25, 1882.

"THE EXAMINATION OF BENNETTE LEESON, OF LEDGERS ASHBY.

"Bennette Leeson, of Ledgers Ashby, saith that on Tuesday night, being the fifth of November, there came one unto his forge on horseback enquiring the way to Dunchurch, offering to contente him well if he would direct him thither, whereupon he went and rode before him, and presently there followed him some twelve horsemen more, amongst whom was Mr. Robert Catesby, all which (as he supposeth) came from the house of Lady Ann Catesby. So he conducted them to Dunchurch, where they alighted at the *signe of the Lion*, at one Morrisens's house, and this examiner walked their horses some quarter of an houre and for his paines he had ij shillings. And then Thomas Bates, Mr. Catesby bis man, came to him and entreated him *to direct him the way to Rugby*, which presently he did, and he had for his paines twelve-pence. At which place, as soon as he came, *he met with nine more at the Bayliff's house at Rugby*, who were very well mounted and came presently away with Thomas Bates and this examiner to Dunchurch, where they found Mr. Robert Catesby and the rest of the companie, all which, within a quarter of an hour after their coming, rode Coventric way."

Who the nine were that were met with at the Bailiff's house at Rugby, I have no means of ascertaining; but I have reason to suppose, with much probability, that the Bailiff's house was on the site of the present School House at Rugby.*

* Subjoined are some further details from the *Leaflet*, No. 7, November, 1884. "Thomas Bates, Catesby's servant, was subsequently executed for High Treason as implicated in this plot. The Bailiff's house at Rugby, was, I have reason to believe, the Manor House, on the site of the present School House, but who the Bailiff was I know not, nor the names of any of the nine conducted by Leeson to Dunchurch: but the important point this examination discloses is the name of the Inn at Dunchurch, where the meeting took place. Thus far the clue led, but no further; was the ancient Inn still in existence and could it be traced? Here a difficulty presented itself. In 1655, one half century later, George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends or Quakers, was at Dunchurch, and in his journal thus expresses himself:—'We lay at the Dun Cow that night,' shewing that an Inn by that name has existed at Dunchurch for 230 years. In Ogilby's Britannia, or Book of Roads, published in the reign of Charles the Second, he mentions Dunchurch 'with 2 or 3 good Inns, as the Dun Cow, &c.' Being one day at Causton Lodge, and mentioning to Lady John Scott the discovery I had so far made, I was allowed to examine a survey, made in the 17th century, of the Warwickshire estates of the Montague family, and which subsequently passed by intermarriage into the present Ducal family of Buccleuch. Here I found, to my delight, a certain ancient mansion in Dunchurch laid down, the closes behind which where designated, if I rightly recollect, as the Lyon closes. This is not the building delineated in the last number of the *Leaflet*, but the house southward of it, extending to the London Road, an old Elizabethan structure, with the upper story overhanging the lower, and in the gable the date 1563. I was subsequently informed by the present Vicar of Dunchurch that the closes at the back of this house were known as 'the Lion closes.'

"An opportunity subsequently occurred of my mentioning the facts connected with this building to the late Duke of Buccleuch, and his Grace was kind enough to assure me that the house should not be disturbed in his lifetime. I trust it may long be preserved as an historic site of no mean importance.

"In the hamlet of Toft, near Dunchurch, a house has indeed been pointed out as the house where the conspirators met, but not only is the tradition extremely vague, but I think I can point out the origin. In 1563 a Manor at Toft was sold to John Fawkes, who resided at Toft, whose grandson John enjoyed it in 1640, thus shewing that though the surname was the same as that of one implicated in the plot, whence the vague tradition, not the slightest attempt was made to implicate the owner of this house in 1605 with the plot."

The road between Rugby and Dunchurch appears to have been in requisition for the marching of troops early in the Civil War of the seventeenth century. One Nicholas Wharton, a subaltern or sergeant in the Parliamentary forces, thus alludes to it in a series of letters written by him; for, being stationed at Spratton, Northamptonshire, on the 29th September, 1642, his regiment marched from thence to Rugby, where, says he, "we had good quarters." And again he says:—

"Tuesday morning (20 September) Our regiment marched (from Rugby) two miles unto Dunsmore Heath, where the Lord General (the Earl of Essex) and his regiment met us, as also the Lord of Stamford, Colonel Cholmley, and Colonel Hampden, with many troops of horse, and eighteen field-pieces, where we kept our rendezvous until even."

It is not difficult to fix on the ground where this meeting took place. It must have been where the road from Rugby to Dunchurch joins the road from Hillmorton to Dunchurch, near the plantations of Bilton Grange, and, as the mile post shows, just two miles from Rugby.

In one of the News Letters published in the Civil War, entitled "Special Passages, &c.," from Tuesday, the 14th of March, to Tuesday, the 21st of March, 1643, in a passage from Coventry:—

"Lord Newport is taken and brought hither by some of the townsmen of Bugby (Rugby), as he was passing to the King, and thus was the manner. Cavaliers (for so here they are called, though the name Caterpillars were farre more fit) came to plunder Bugby (Rugby), and took 30 horse, which occasioned the town and the Country round to persue them; gilt made his Lordship flee, whilst none pursued him, and so they took him as one of that partie."

This passage is but vague: but as the King was at Oxford, the direct road thither from Rugby was through Dunchurch, and we may presume that was the route taken by Lord Newport. It does not appear that Lord Newport was kept a prisoner long at Coventry. Early in 1644 we find him leaving the King at Oxford, and going over to the Parliamentary party.

Such are the few historic incidents I find recorded of this road. There were, in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, doubtless more, but the memorials of such are lost.

Between sixty-five and seventy years ago, on starting from the westernmost point of School Street, Rugby, southwards, were to be found, on the left of the road to Dunchurch, and close to the town, a number of farm and barn-like buildings, partly thatched, partly tiled, which for some years did duty as school rooms, whilst the old schools were being pulled down, and the new were in the course of construction. These are delineated in the faithful view of the old school buildings drawn by Mr. Edward Pretty in 1809, and afterwards engraved in aquatinta and published by him. As the then Drawing Master of Rugby School, he preserved, by his pencillings, many memorials of the old school, and his name is one which ought not to rest in oblivion. At the southern extremity of these buildings a straggling hedge and irregular rail-fence, with a ditch in front, formed the western boundary of the then Close, and

extended to the old bath, the site of which was some dozen yards, or perhaps more, north of the present bath, and, like that, abutting on the road.

The western side of the Dunchurch Road, opposite the Close, presented a far different appearance to what it now exhibits. Not a single house of the present row with the neat, well-kept, and pleasing plots of garden ground in front, had been built; but the land formerly, and in my own remembrance, a corn field, was now converted into garden ground, and many members of the School occupied small plots, four or five yards square, which they cultivated from Easter to the Midsummer holidays, raising certain esculents, as radishes and mustard and cress. Floriculture was also carried on to some extent. The rental of the small plots of land was about five shillings each, for the season, about three months. From these gardens were collected those bouquets or nosegays, which, at one time, it was customary in the season, before third lesson in an afternoon, to lay on the desks of certain of the masters just before lesson commenced, attempts to make the lesson pass off pleasantly. Unheeded, and swept aside by this or that master, one or two seemed to accept them as a *quasi* peace offering, and many a furtive glance was directed towards the master as he ascended his desk. If he took up what had been placed before him, and a benignant smile illuminated his countenance, a favourable omen was imparted; if otherwise, the lesson went on as usual, with the average number of punishments and changes of places.

Passing along the road, leaving the School Bath, of great capabilities, the result of private munificence, and the School Gymnasium, on the left, we arrive, on the same side of the road, at that range of buildings, constructed of stone and tastefully designed, which comprise the Roman Catholic Schools and Cemetery front, with the tower and spire of the Roman Catholic Church, forming, though open in some few details to criticism, a pleasing object. At the southern extremity of these buildings we descend the hill to the brook, now bridged over all across the road, but, within my recollection it was not so, as formerly the hill was much steeper, and the brook was unbridged, save by a plank for foot passengers on the western side of the stream. A little beyond this, and close to the footpath, years ago, might be discerned the upraised turf over the grave of a suicide, a poor girl, who, upwards of one hundred years ago, poisoned herself with arsenic, and a Coroner's jury having brought in a verdict of *felo de se*, and there being no cross-road in the parish, was buried near to where the brook crossed the road at right angles.

Ascending the hill, on the summit we arrive at the boundary of Bilton parish. Here on the right is a drift road, passing by Over-slade to Bilton. On the left we pass by a bridle road, through fields, the first five of which are in the parish of Rugby, and the bridle road is in a straight line; in the sixth field, through which the road goes obliquely, we enter the parish of Bilton. On the table land, over these fields, before the Rugby enclosure took place in 1774, the Rugby Races were run, and the second field from the road still retains the name of "Starting Post Close."

When these races originated I know not ; I can only trace them back to 1721. On Thursday, July 24th, 1724, a woman was killed by one of the horses at Rugby Races. Notice of this is taken in the disbursement of Richard Butler, constable of Rugby for that year :—

"July 23. Gave ye men yt brought Widd. Mabbs when dead from the horse race in alle £o. 2s. 6d."

"24. Paid horse-hire and expenses to Warwick for ye crouner and pd. for 2 warrants to summon ye jury."

In the advertisement of the Rugby Races for 1756 is the following item :—

"There will be an ordinary each day for gentlemen and ladies, and ball at night."

Both ordinary and ball took place at "The Bear and Ragged Staff," a noted Inn in Rugby, now occupied by Mr. Lawrence, Bookseller to Rugby School. Madame d'Arblay, in her diary, *sub anno* 1779, observes, in allusion to the Rugby Races :—

"This puts me in mind of a poor girl, a Miss Peachy (a real, and in the end a melancholy story). She was a fine young woman, but thinking herself too ruddy, and blowzy, it was her custom to bleed herself (an art she had learned on purpose), three or four times against the Rugby Races, in order to appear more dainty and ladylike at the balls, &c. Poor thing ! she lost her aim, for when she came she looked like a ghost, and soon became one—her arm bled in the night, and in the morning she was past recovery."

Returning to and continuing on the main road to Dunchurch, we advance on the level for some short distance, and then descend to a second brook and, ascending to the opposite side, we again come to a level on which the road continues all the way to Dunchurch, though not in a straight line.

At the second mile-stone from Rugby the road debouches into what was formerly the turnpike road from Northampton to Dunchurch, near to what was formerly an old Inn, known by the sign of "The Cock Robin." The buildings remain, but the Inn exists no longer. It was in and about this spot that early in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, the rendezvous of the army of the Earl of Essex took place, as previously noticed. From hence, passing on the left one of the lodges of Bilton Grange, which mansion is, perhaps, not more than a quarter of a mile from the road, we proceed to Dunchurch, hardly a mile distant.

Previous to the railway between London and Birmingham being opened, now nigh fifty years ago, Dunchurch, being on the London and Holyhead Road, was a great thoroughfare ; no less than forty coaches passed through it daily, and each of the two principal Inns, the Dun Cow and the Bell, kept in the season twenty pair of post horses for gentlemen's carriages ; these, exclusive of the relays of coach horses. Of a Sunday evening in the summer, within a few weeks of the holidays, the road from Rugby to Dunchurch was thronged with members of the School taking this walk, in anticipation of their drive to *dulce domum*.

DUNCHURCH CHURCH.*

No part of the original structure, which was probably erected in the early part of the eleventh century, now remains. The present edifice appears to have been erected gradually, and probably by the Monks of Pipewell, during the fourteenth century. The chancel appears to have been rebuilt first, in the early part of that century; the nave and aisles about the middle, and the tower towards the close; at least the architectural features lead me so to infer. The arrangement is that of a simple parochial church; a tower at the west end, nave, north and south aisles, and chancel. The nave is divided from the aisles by three pointed arches on each side springing from octagonal piers, with moulded and embattled capitals. The windows of the chancel are of geometrical or early decorated character. The east window is a fine and graceful specimen. The chancel has two low side windows, one



DUNCHURCH CHURCH.

at the west end of the north wall, the other opposite to it, in the south wall. The priest door is on the north side. The aisles have windows of decorated character filled with flowing tracery. The tower is a venerable and fine looking structure. It has an interesting west doorway of late decorated character with hanging tracery. It is surmounted by a rich embattled parapet, with a turret at the south-east angle. On this turret is a seat in the form of an arm chair, traditionally denominated "Dasset's chair;" why so I am unable to conjecture, unless it may have been built by one of that name.†

* Rogers' *Rugby Almanack*, 1862.

† There was a family of the name of Dasset residing at Thurlaston from A.D. 1337 to A.D. 1534. They held the Lordship of Thurlaston, and probably contributed to the erection of or built this Tower.

The Rev. Wm. Cole, a well-known antiquary of the seventeenth century, gives us an account of the church as it appeared when he visited it in 1757, and I cannot do better than give a portion of his church notes in his own words:—

"The church here is a good structure with a square tower at the west end, a nave, 2 side Isles and a Chancel. The Altar piece is of wainscote and very handsome, having a large gilt Candlestick & Taper in it in the middle at the top and 2 mitres at the extremities, it being a vicarage in the gift of the Bp of Lichfield. One of the late Bps sons, Mr. Smallbroke, was vicar abt a year since, but is now removed to Wem in Shropshire. The Altar is railed round, & within them on the N side is a stone with these arms at top & inscription underneath. The same arms in an achievement thus blasoned, vizt. Qrly 1. S, 3 crescents O.—2. O, saltier vairè A. & B.—3. A. 2 Lions passant S, crowned O.—4 Ermine on a fess engrailed S. 3 fleur de Lis O.*

"*Here lieth the Body of Francis Boughton, of Cawston, Esqr., who Departed this Life the 29 of July, 1707, aged 66.*

"The 3 crescents are only on the stone. This Gentleman left only Daughters, so his estate was sold to the late Duke of Montague. Against the wall of the south Isle is a mural monument of white marble, representing a Cabinet with both the folding doors open, & projecting forwards within side is this inscription & on one of the folding doors is another & these arms at top, vizt a lion's head erased between 3 crescents for Newcombe.

"*Here lieth interr'd the Body of Thomas Newcombe, Esq., a worthy Citizen of London, & Servant to his late Majesty King Charles y^e second in his Printing Office, who Departed this Life y^e 26 day of December, 1681, & in y^e 55 year of his age.—In memory of whom his son, Thomas Newcombe, Esq., servant likewise to his late Maty and to his present Majesty King James the 2d in the same office, erected this monument. He likewise departed this life March 27, 1691, being Good Friday.*

"*Mrs. Dorothy Hutchinson, Relict of Thomas Newcombe, Esqr., jun., departed this life Febr. 28, 1719.*

"On one of the old pews in this south Isle is carved the old Arms of the Isle of Man, vizt. 3 legs conjoined in the centre. There are several oaken stalls in the Chancel. Against one of the pillars in the south Isle hangs a frame of wood gilt, with these arms & inscription, vizt. O. 2 eagles legs erased a la cuisse en saltier S. for Hixon, impales, quarterly 1 & 4 A a dexter hand coupè at the wrist, Sable. 2 & 3 vert, a bend A larmoyè, Sable, Manley.

"*Heere lyeth y^e body of Margarit Hixon, Daughter to Thomas Manley of Manley, in y^e County of Chester, Esqr., & Wife to Thomas Hixon, of Greenwich, in y^e County of Kent, Esqr. Who lyeth there intombd Wth the inscription of these Titles on his Monument, M^r of Arts, Oxon: Souldier vnder Henry y^e 4th King of France, Gentleman of y^e Bedchamber to Queene Elizabeth, Yeoman of y^e Removing Wardrop, keeper of y^e Standing Wardrop & privy Lodgings at Greenwich to Queene Elizabeth & King James, by which Husband Thomas Hixon, Shee had 5 Sonnes, viz.: Robert, Humphry, Thomas, Iohn & William: Also 3 Daughters, viz.: Elizabeth, Margarit & Katharine. She Departed y^e life y^e 21 of April, ano: 1632.*

"At the east end of the south Isle and rather to the south (in the Church yard) is an altar tomb of stone covered with black marble, on which is this inscription under these arms, viz.: on a bend 3 cross crosselets impaling a cheveron inter 3 hounds' heads erased.

"*Here lieth intombd James Gramer Biker, Esqr^e Refiner and Citizen of London, who departed this life Nov. 28, 1741, aged 34 years.*

"The Pulpit and Desk were hung with black cloth and several escutcheons on them with these arms, vizt. A on a bend B (blue or azure) 3 cross crosselets O for Biker, impales A a saltire engrailed B (blue or azure).

"Mr. Biker's house of brick is a little on the other side of the great road about a furlong, and over the door is an achievement.

"One John Biker was vicar here in 1626."

* 1. Boughton, 2. Willington, 3. Catesby.

Thus far Mr. Cole's church notes.

Mr. Carter, the well-known antiquary, who wrote in the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the present century numerous valuable letters in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, on "The Pursuits of Architectural Innovation," thus describes the church here visited by him at the commencement of the present century, A.D. 1800:—

"As I drew near this work of antient art, my late mortification, at viewing pretended pointed-arch imitations and Roman innovations, gradually gave way to antiquarian pleasure; and I with unusual celerity began my *memoranda* of the curious west door of the entrance, the window over it, the north door of the Chancel, and the East window. The last work is a charming combination of tracery and the most delicate masonry. In the interior of the church I was not less busily employed on its architectural parts, where my greatest attention was directed to the ornaments and tracery on the sides of the seats ranging along the aisles of the building, inexhaustible in their varying forms. While thus engaged I received a visit from the Clergyman and the Clerk; and I was not a little confounded which to wonder at most, the apathy of the former who could not possibly conceive what in his church was worth my notice, or the insensibility of the latter, who said that they were burning off (as occasion permitted) the old rummaging oak seats to make way for *fine new deal pews*; which, I assure my readers, from those already set up, were very little better, in point of carpentry, than a Smithfield Bartholomew show booth. They then left me with much seeming contempt for passing my time in such a useless employ as poring over mouldy walls, broken pavements, noseless figures, and worm-eaten boards."*

The ancient pew and wood-work which existed in this church at the commencement of the present century appears to have been part of the fourteenth, the other part of the fifteenth century. An ancient carving in oak of a Bishop vested for the Eucharistic service within a canopied recess, the whole carved out of a single block, is in the possession of Edward Pretty, Esq., of Chillington House, Maidstone; of this I have a drawing, and it is clearly of the fourteenth century. I have a fragment of screen work from this church, with decorated tracery of the same period. Other portions of carved wood-work, panelling, and bench ends of the fifteenth century, were said to have been removed to the private Chapel of the Earl of Denbigh, at Newnham Paddox, and constitute part of the fittings there. A small portion of the ancient wood-work of the same period, carved with the arms of the Isle of Man, is still preserved in the church.

During the incumbency of the late Vicar, the present Venerable Archdeacon Sandford, the *fine deal pews* set up at the beginning of the century were swept away, and the church properly and substantially fitted up with open seats of oak, with poppy heads at the bench ends. No small cost was also bestowed in fitting up the chancel with elaborately carved seats arranged choir-wise. Many of the windows were also filled with painted glass, and a gallery removed from the west end of the nave. It is, however, much to be regretted that the underdrawn plaster ceilings were not removed and new roofs substituted for the present, which by no means harmonize with the fittings of the church. In the alterations thus effected the altar piece described by Mr. Cole, set up in 1728,

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1800.

and the gift of Mr. Samuel Macham, who was born at Dunchurch in 1659, was taken down, and the east window, which had been blocked up, properly restored. The great west window of the tower, which had been despoiled of its mullions, had the tracery properly replaced.

In the seventeenth century eight coats of arms, coeval, apparently, with the structure, were existing in painted glass in the windows; but none of these are now remaining.

In making excavations, for the purpose of laying pipes for warming the church, a few weeks ago, in the south aisle, a coffin was discovered of strong thick lead, but without any inscription. On being opened it was ascertained to contain a body which appeared to have been partially embalmed or covered with cerecloth. On this being removed the body was found converted into a fatty matter or substance resembling adipocere. Of the head the skull only remained, and the limbs were reduced to mere bones. Close to the foot of this coffin was a leaden box, which appeared to have contained the intestines. The coffin and box with the body and remains were re-interred in a deeper grave on the same spot. These were probably the remains of Mrs. Margaret Hixon, who died in 1632, and whose epitaph I have given. She was buried in the south aisle of this church, and as during the seventeenth century bodies were frequently embalmed, in one mode or another, the discovery was not remarkable. Bodies converted into a substance resembling adipocere have been found elsewhere; one a few years ago in the Beauchamp Chapel, St. Mary's Church, Warwick.

The Parish Register commences 24th November, 30th Henry VIII., A.D. 1538, being the first year registers were publicly ordered to be kept, although scattered about the country there are about thirty of earlier date. The following are extracts:—

"The Bible was this year (1538) translated and ordered to be read in Churches."

"Church Service was changed thro' England from the use of St. Paul to that of Sarum, being composed by Osmond, 2nd Bishop of Sarum, in 1415,* and ordered to be performed in English in 1559."

"In the year 1625 there was a Great Plague in London which swept away above thirty-four thousand persons. Some people flying from the pestilential air of London, died at Dunchurch and were buried by the Vicar's side land in Langfield."

The register contains the inscriptions on the old bells, cast between 1619 and 1674. They were five in number, but the inscriptions are unimportant. The present bells, six in number, appear to have been cast in 1724.

Of the former Vicars, John Grene, instituted in 1414, became subsequently, A.D. 1449, Bishop of the Isle of Man. This will account for the carved wood-work containing the arms of Man, probably executed at his expense; but the carved effigy of a Bishop I have mentioned is of earlier work.

Nathaniel Macham was Vicar sometime during the Common-

* This is a mistake; Osmond, by whom it was composed, was Bishop of Sarum from A.D. 1078 to 1099.

wealth, but I do not find when he was inducted. He resigned the vicarage in 1662. He was the author of "The Vindication of Ordinary and Publick Preaching, by a Gospel Ministry, in two sermons, preached at Rugby, in Warwickshire, by N. Macham, Minister of the Gospel at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire. London, 1658."

Samuel Carte, inducted in 1697, having previously held the Vicarage of Clifton-upon-Dunsmore, resigned in 1699. He was the father of Thomas Carte, the Historian, and on his resigning Dunchurch, was inducted Vicar of St. Martin's at Leicester. He wrote "*Tabula Chronologica Archiepiscopatum et Episcopatum in Anglia et Wallia, &c.*," published in the 13th volume of the Somers Collection of Tracts. He made considerable collections towards the History of Leicester, and was engaged in the Trinitarian controversy in that town in 1729. He died in April, 1740, aged 87, and was buried in the chancel of St. Martin's Church, near the altar.

The Rev. Edward Davies, inducted as Vicar in 1699, published a Sermon preached by him on Friday, December 16th, 1720, being a day of public fasting for the Plague. He died 1737.

The Rev. Thomas White, Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral, inducted to this vicarage in 17—, died in 1784, aged 74. He published a much esteemed volume of sermons, the first edition of which appeared in 1752, the second in 1771.

The Venerable John Sandford, Archdeacon of Coventry, was inducted to this vicarage in 1836, and resigned it in 1853. He has published "*Remains of Bishop Sandford*," 2 vols., 8vo.; "*Parochialia, or Church, School, and Parish*," 8vo.; "*Vox Cordis*," a manual of Devotions, Archidiaconal Charges, Visitation and other Sermons, Lectures, Speeches, &c. During his incumbency the Vicarage House was considerably enlarged, the Parochial Schools both here and at Thurlaston were erected, and the Church was repewed as it now appears.

The Rev. Francis Wheler, the present Vicar, was inducted in 1853. He is the author of a Sermon published by him, on the death of the Right Honorable Lord John Scott.

ROADS AND RUNS ROUND RUGBY.

V. THE BILTON AND WARWICK ROAD.*

Many, perhaps, might consider the road from Rugby to the County Town, Warwick, to be the chief road out of Rugby; though as a fact it could hardly be asserted with truth, it possesses no ordinary points of interest. In past times, hardly a generation ago, the junction of the roads to Bilton and Dunchurch presented a very

* *Meteor*, No. 183, Dec. 20, 1882.

different appearance to what is the case at present. Turnpike gates were here set up across each road forming barriers at which black mail was levied on those travelling in carriages or on horseback, those on foot being exempt. The approach to Bilton was at this point extremely narrow, the broad space we pass over having been so rendered by the demolition of unsightly buildings. The printing office of the *Meteor* is on the site of or near to the Town Prison, a vile cell called the "lock-up," whilst a few yards westward were the stocks, the only punishment awarded by the Legislature, till within the last few years, for default of paying a fine for drunkenness and disorderly conduct accompanying the same. The stocks were in no unfrequent use some fifty years ago, when the construction of the London and Birmingham Railway was being carried on. Navvies, who little respected the decencies of civilized society, were here confined, and derisively termed "children in the wood." The stocks were removed thither upwards of sixty years ago, from the back of the Shambles where they anciently stood, when juniors of Rugby School, of the First and Second Forms, were sent running down, on the first of April, by their more knowing comrades, to see Tom Nemo and Peter Nullus set in the stocks. They are humourously described in *Hudibras* as:—

" An ancient castle that commands
Th' adjacent parts ; in all the fabric
You shall not see one stone nor a brick,
But all of wood, by pow'rful spell
Of magic made impregnable ;
There's neither iron bar, nor gate,
Portcullis, chain, nor bolt, nor grate ;
And yet men durance there abide
In dungeon scarce three inches wide :
With roof so low that under it
They never stand, but lie or sit,
In circle magical confin'd,
With walls of subtle air and wind."*

Further westward, on the left, where Union Street now stands, were, when Rugby Field was unenclosed, the Butts, for the use of artillery, *i.e.*, bow and arrows, the practice of which, for the defence of the realm, was obligatory. The parents of every boy of a certain age and upwards, were required, under a penalty, to provide him with a bow and a certain number of arrows, with which he had to practice shooting at the Butts. Just beyond this, on the same side of the road, was a horsepool, known as "Malin's Pool," skirted on the southern bank by a row of willow trees.

At the west end of this pool, which was filled up between forty and fifty years ago, the road diverges to Bilton, on the left. Beyond this point, all the houses on both sides have been erected within the last fifty years. We continue on the level road to the gradual descent of the road, leaving the Gentlemen's Cricket Ground, on which many a match has been played, a field from the road on high ground to the right. Crossing the brook, a few hundred yards further on, we come to a second brook, and a hill, up which

* *Hudibras*, Part 1, Canto 2, line 1130.

the road leads to the village of Bilton. Skirting the road on the left side is a large field which formerly contained fish ponds, three in number, graduating in descent one from the other; of these the uppermost only is left; the middlemost, which covered a space of about two acres, was formerly, in a hard frost, a favourite resort of skaters, especially of those from Rugby School. Within the last twenty years this pool has been drained; the ruins of the floodgates are still visible. South of this close lies the village Church, a venerable structure, full of reminiscences. When constructed in the fourteenth century, on the site of a more ancient structure, of which no remains were, until within the last few years, visible, it presented the most perfect ideal of a small village church, comprising a tower and spire, nave, chancel and vestry, all of the same period, the Decorated style of the age. We have no remains of the ancient pew work, but we have the sedilia or stone seats, on the south side of the chancel, the fine ogee-shaped arch on the north side of the chancel, for the receptacle at Easter of the so-called "Holy Sepulchre," in accordance with pre-reformation rites; indications of the place where the rood-loft altar was placed, and the little square-headed window in the south wall of the chancel whereat the Friars, in former times, were wont to hear "utter confession." This church is otherwise most interesting in connection with Joseph Addison, of famous memory, the remains of whose daughter, and only child, lie buried within the chancel. A north aisle and vestry were a few years ago annexed to the original structure, and I need only say that this annexation could not have been designed or carried out with better taste or skill. Beyond the church lies Bilton Hall, in its own retired grounds. Purchased by Addison, in 1712, he added the south wing and laid out the garden. This was his occasional residence during the remainder of his life. Up to the death of his daughter, in 1797, no change was made in the internal arrangement of the house and its old furniture. His library and medals were then sent up to London to be sold. In, however, the year 1825, the old furniture was sold on a change of tenancy, and some of the pictures. Amongst the former was a little writing table covered with green velvet; this is preserved with great care in Holland House, Kensington. A portrait of Addison, when a child, about six years of age, was also disposed of; this is now in my possession. Several other interesting relics of the poet were also then disposed of, but the larger paintings were retained; the most interesting of these is a portrait of Addison, by Jervas, the friend of Pope, perhaps the best that artist ever painted. At the commencement of the present century, Bilton Hall was occupied by Appleby, an old and well-known Rugbeian, the Nimrod of the *Sporting Magazine*.

Passing through the village of Bilton, with its cheerful green, on which a portion of the village cross is still existing, we continue on the highway to Warwick, which passes through the lordship of Causton. Here was formerly a hamlet which became depopulated on account of the Monks of Pipewell, in Northamptonshire, who had a grange, converting their arable land into pasture, to the sore discomfiture of the inhabitants. The site

of this hamlet was discovered a few years ago by Lady John Scott, between the high road and Causton Lodge, the residence of Lady John Scott, sister-in-law to the Duke of Buccleuch. Causton Lodge is a modern mansion, comfortable within, but without architectural pretension, having been built and added to from time to time within the last sixty years. Causton Lodge was built, I think, on the site of the ancient grange of the Monks of Pipewell, destroyed by fire in 1310, now nigh 600 years ago. Be this as it may, it certainly is on the site of that Elizabethan mansion, built by Mr. Edward Boughton, who having gotten materials by pulling down the White Friars Church at Coventry, raised here the most beautiful fabric that then was in all these parts. This mansion appears to have occupied three sides of a quadrangle, the gatehouse being on the fourth. The west wing of this mansion, as existing in my time, I well remember; between fifty and sixty years ago I made a drawing of it: it was pulled down about fifty years ago, and a farmhouse erected from the materials. In the demolition a secret chamber was discovered, where some ardent Jacobite, after the Revolution, had evidently been concealed, for in this chamber was discovered a manuscript containing political songs and ribald effusions, railing against William the Third, and others, later in date, of the time of the rising of the old Chevalier—James, known to many as the Old Pretender. There existed an old tradition, told to me by one who as a boy resided here upwards of one hundred years ago, that a King had once called here. This could have been no other than Charles the First, who when his troops were discomfited in the skirmish at Long Itchington on the — day of —, 1642, left the field, and, with some lords in company, proceeded to Nottingham, his route being by this way. This mansion is said to have been haunted by one of the Boughton family, and even now at the present day strange noises are heard by day and night, which have not hitherto been satisfactorily accounted for.

Again proceeding on the highway and passing by Potford Dam, which formerly kept up a lake of no inconsiderable magnitude, but which has been drained many years, we arrive at the Avenue, on the Coventry Road, no great distance from the Dunchurch Railway Station. The country about here, at the close of the fifteenth century, was noted for being infested with thieves and manslayers, by whom all travellers over Dunsmore Heath were exposed to much peril. But this I will relate in the words of my author, John Rous, the Warwickshire Antiquary, who flourished in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and who in his work "*Historia Regum Angliæ*," thus notices it:—

"Causton super Dunnismore in Parochia de Dunchurch olim erat villa, sed nunc est solum grangia abbatis de Pypwell ex dono comitum Warwici, et modo est spelunca latronum et homicidarum. Vox sanguinis ibi occisorum et mutuatorum vindictam annuatim clamitat ad Deum. Via periculosa est, et est alta et communis via inter civitatem Londoniarum et civitatem Coventrensem."

BILTON HALL.*

Beneath that mansion whose antique design
 The pencil here hath traced with mimic line,
 In lettered ease did Addison once live,
 With all that genius, all that worth could give;
 Devotion free from sadness or from guile,
 Truth's serious thoughts, and Humour's angel-smile,
 Love that in heart embraced all human kind,
 And classic elegance, and taste refined;
 The Statesman pure whom avarice could not taint,
 The Poet, Wit, Philosopher, and Saint.†

The most ancient portion of the mansion, that part with the gabled roof, was erected in the year 1604, by Edward Boughton, of Lawford, soon after the purchase by him from Henry Shuckborough, early, very early, in the reign of James I., as the Manor House of a village lordship. In this no attempt was made to vie with the more stately mansions of Warwickshire: Compton Wyniate, Charlecote, Aston Hall, or even with that one in its immediate neighbourhood, Causton Hall, erected in the reign of Elizabeth by another Edward Boughton, who "having gotten materials by pulling down the White Friars Church, in Coventry, raised here the most beautiful fabric that then was in all these parts." Bilton Hall continued in the Boughton family for little more than a century. In 1712 the conveyance of this mansion and about 1000 acres of land to Addison was made by William Boughton, the purchase money being £8000. Some quarter of a century ago I had occasion to peruse, in London, the identical conveyance, the parties to which, and their descriptions, I now give. It was an Indenture of Release dated the 27th of February, 1712, between William Boughton, then late of Bilton, and then of Rugby, in the County of Warwick, Esquire, son and heir of Edward Boughton, then late of Bilton aforesaid, Esquire, deceased, who was only son and heir of Thomas Boughton, then late of Bilton aforesaid, Esquire, and Mary his wife, both then deceased, and Abigail Boughton, widow and relict of the said Edward Boughton, and mother of the said William Boughton, of the one part, and Joseph Addison, of the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, Esquire, of the other part. In this conveyance the mansion is described as all that the capital messuage, or chief Manor House, with the appurtenances thereto belonging and appertaining, situate and being in Bilton aforesaid, theretofore in the occupation of James Chapman Clerk, and there and then late in the tenure or occupation of the said William Boughton. Then follows a long description of the lands conveyed, too lengthy indeed for insertion. Whilst engaged in examining the above and subsequent deeds, the solicitor to the Bridgeman family, in whose custody the deeds were, informed me that the letters addressed by

* *Leaflet*, No. 10, March, 1885.

† The author of the above lines was an Old Rugbeian, the Rev. Philip Bracebridge Homer, one of the Assistant Masters of Rugby School under Dr. James, Dr. Ingles, and Dr. Wooll, from 1787 to 1825.

Addison to the Countess of Warwick in his courtship previous to their marriage, were in the possession of the Bridgeman family. As that marriage did not take place till four years and a half after the purchase of Bilton Hall, by Addison, and as he is said to have purchased the Bilton estate in contemplation of that marriage, it is not unreasonable to suppose that those letters, or some of them, may contain some interesting details of his alterations in, and additions to, the mansion, of occurrences during his occasional residence there, perhaps of the chit-chat of the neighbourhood of that *little town in Warwickshire*, described by him, in one of his papers, as very famous for gossiping.

Addison altered the external appearance of the mansion purchased by him by inserting, in the garden front, sash windows in the French style, then prevalent, in lieu of the original Jacobean mullioned windows. He built the south wing of the house, as seen from the garden, and laid out the garden. In certain numbers of the *Spectator* he descants upon artistic gardening, and he furnished the house with that interesting collection of portraits it now contains, and his library for a country house was not small, considering the age in which he flourished; we may estimate the number of volumes from 1000 to 1500. He had also, at Bilton, a collection of medals. Born in 1672, he was, at the age of eleven, placed at a school at Lichfield, kept by a Mr. Shaw. At this school he is traditionally said to have been ringleader in a barring out. I may here digress: in my childhood, 'tis nigh three-quarters of a century ago, I was in a barring out at school—not Rugby School—but too young to understand the exact meaning of the game. From Lichfield Addison was removed to the Charterhouse, and though I have full particulars of his subsequent career, I can but briefly notice the incidents of that period of his life, the last seven years, during which he was squire of Bilton Hall, and occasionally resided there. Of the periods of his residence we know little. In January, 1828, I was present at a sale of autographs in London. Amongst these was a letter of Addison's to a Mr. Hughes, dated "Bilton, near Rugby, October 16, 1713." After the death of Miss Addison in 1797, an Old Rugbeian, the Rev. James Christopher Moor, subsequently and for thirty years an Assistant Master of Rugby School, had the overlooking of certain papers at Bilton Hall. Amongst these he found the original drafts of two of the papers in the *Spectator*, the one on "Fame," and the other on "Ambition." The first appears to be No. 439, published July 24, 1712; that on "Ambition," No. 570, published July 21, 1714; at which periods we may well imagine Addison to have been resident at Bilton Hall.

In 1715 he published the first number of *The Freeholder*, a political periodical in favour of the Hanoverian Government, and in opposition to the adherents of the Stuarts. In 1716, on the 9th of August, he married, at the Church of St. Edward, King and Martyr, Lombard Street, London, Charlotte, Countess Dowager of Warwick and Holland. The issue of this marriage was one daughter, Miss Charlotte Addison. My father was acquainted with her, and a Mrs. Cox, of Bilton, who died within

the last few years, aged upwards of 100 years, remembered her. But as to Addison himself, in 1717, two years before his death, he was in the Ministry, and appointed Secretary of State, being a member of the Cabinet; but his health began to fail, and he felt compelled to resign his office; and it is probable that during those two years he resided little, if at all, at Bilton. He became asthmatic, and at Holland House he departed this life on the 17th of June, 1719, having just entered his 48th year. His body lay in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, adjoining Westminster Abbey; from thence it was conveyed to the Abbey at dead of night. Bishop Atterbury, "the lawn-robed prelate," met the corpse, and led the procession by torch-light round the shrine of St. Edward, and the graves of the Plantagenets, to the Chapel of Henry the Seventh. In the north aisle of that chapel, in the much-crowded vault of the house of Albemarle, the coffin of Addison was deposited on the coffins of General Monk, of historic fame, and of his Duchess, to be shortly after covered by the coffin of his friend James Craggs, who succeeded him as Secretary of State. Of the numerous tributes paid to his memory, one by his friend Sir Richard Steele, that by the poet Tickell, his friend, in an elegy, is the most lasting, the best known, and the most touching. By his will, executed little more than a month before his death, viz., on the 15th of May, 1719, he left all his real and personal estate to his dear and loving wife, the Countess of Holland and Warwick, charged with the payment of £500. to his sister, Mrs. Combes, and with an annuity of £50. to his mother, then living at Coventry. After his death his widow, the Countess of Warwick, took up her residence at Bilton Hall. On her death, in 1731, his daughter, Charlotte Addison, continued to reside there till her death, in 1797. During this period, the furniture, library, and paintings, collected by Addison, at Bilton Hall, were left intact and undisturbed. On the 27th of May, 1799, and three following days, his library, having been removed from Bilton Hall, was sold in London by Leigh and Sotheby. It consisted of 856 lots, and realized £456. 2s. 6d. Would we had a catalogue of that sale! I purposely omit any enumeration of the various productions of his pen, being too numerous for insertion in this paper. In the early part of the present century Bilton Hall was occupied, first, by Mr. Apperly, an Old Rugbeian, in years past well known in his day as the "Nimrod" of the *Sporting Magazine*, and after him by a Mr. Vernon, an Anglo-Saxon scholar, I believe, of some note. The latter left Bilton Hall in 1824 or 1825. In March, 1825, a sale took place of the furniture of Bilton Hall, including much that had been placed there by Addison, and some of the paintings. It was there I purchased a literary relic of Addison, his writing table of walnut wood, covered with green velvet, and somewhat besmeared with ink. This I gave shortly afterwards to a near relative, to whom I was under great obligations, the then President of the Royal Academy of Arts in England, who had expressed a great wish to obtain it. He presented it as a literary *souvenir* to the late Samuel Rogers, the poet, author of "The Pleasures of Memory," and other poems. On his death his valuable collection of paintings and articles of

vertu—some of which now grace the Rugby School Art Museum—including this writing table, were offered for sale by auction in London. I sent up a commission, not an unlimited one, but a considerable one, for the re-purchase, but my commission was exceeded, and it was purchased by the late Lord Holland, and by him placed in Holland House, where, I believe, it still remains. At or about the time of this sale, which created no small attention, an engraving of this writing table appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, accompanied by an article which was in many facts erroneous. I wrote to correct the mis-statements there given, and stated the true history of the table from the time it was sold at Bilton Hall, and my letter was duly inserted in that journal. Some short time after this I received a long and very courteous letter from the late Lord Holland, stating how obliged he would be if I would send him a monograph of my letter which appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, for the purpose of placing it in the drawer of the writing table, and giving me an invitation to Holland House. With his request I cordially complied, but I did not avail myself of his invitation.

The series of portraits which adorn the walls of the principal rooms at Bilton Hall was formed by Addison. From a long list I may enumerate a few : King James the First, by Mark Garrard. King Charles the First, on horseback, and his Equerry, after the famous painting by Vandyck, by Henry Stone. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, after Vandyck, probably by Henry Stone. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, by Sir Balthazar Gerbier. Craggs, Secretary of State, by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Countess of Warwick, by the same. Lord Warwick, her son, and dog, by Michael Dahl. Miss Addison, when a child, very quaint. Addison, by Jervas, a fine and interesting half-length. I have in my own collection a portrait said to be of Addison, by Zeeman. I have one of better authenticity, his portrait, an oil painting, when a boy, with his right hand on a dog's head. Miss Addison always esteemed this as a portrait of her father when young. This was sold at the sale at Bilton Hall in 1825, being designated as "Portrait of a Youth." I have a silver-handled rapier of Addison, which I suppose he may have brought from Germany, as on the blade is engraved the effigy of Martin Luther, with a German inscription beneath. I have also one of his high-backed chairs, purchased at the sale at Bilton Hall. Mr. G. V. Hefford, of Elborow Street, possesses an autograph signature of Addison. In or after the year 1825 certain external alterations were made in the garden front of the ancient Jacobean mansion. Before that work was commenced I made a drawing of the garden front as altered and added to by Addison. In conclusion, I may be permitted to observe that this historic mansion, with its surroundings, is prized, as it deserves to be, by its present most worthy occupants, and that although not, in the general acceptance of the phrase, "a show house," the literary pilgrim, desirous of seeing it, will not be refused admittance by the kind and courteous ladies who dwell there.

BILTON CHURCH.*

We find no historic reminiscence of Bilton earlier than that contained in the Norman Survey, better known as "Domesday Book," compiled A.D. 1086. A translation of the entry there made in abbreviated Latin is as follows. After setting forth certain of the possessions of Roger Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, the entry proceeds:—

"William holds of this Earl in Beltone 5 hides, save one virgate. The arable employs 11 ploughs, 2 are in the demesne. There are 23 villeins with a priest, and 9 borders; they have 8 ploughs and a half. There are 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 4 pounds, and afterwards 10s.; now 3 pounds. Ulwin held it."

The last sentence gives us the name of the owner in the reign of Edward the Confessor, about the middle of the eleventh century.

The words in the entry, "with a priest," *cu p'dro*, imply that a church then existed here; whether built in the reign of the Confessor or at an earlier period is not apparent from any visible remains. It is probable that fragments of this earlier structure may be buried in the foundations of the present church.

In the reign of Stephen a large portion of land in Bilton, round and about that present modern mansion called Bilton Grange, was given by Walter Ingoldi, then the owner of Bilton, to the Monastery of Pipewell, Northamptonshire. In this grant, fortunately for Bilton, the advowson of the church was not included. From the reign of Stephen to the close of the fifteenth century, the manor appears to have been held by three families only, viz., the families of De Craffe, of De Charnels, and of De Trussell, or rather by one family only, as it passed from one name to the other by inter-marriage, and not by purchase.

The Church appears to have been entirely re-built about the middle of the fourteenth century (*circa* A.D. 1350), probably, as I think, by Sir Nicholas de Charnels, Knight, owner of the manor, and patron of the advowson. He, in 1349, appears to have presented to the Rectory one Gilbertus de Sutton, who held no higher rank in the orders of the Church than that of acolyte. And here I may observe that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was by no means unusual for a deacon, sub-deacon, or even, as here, an acolyte, to be presented to a living. This was felt to be an abuse, and an attempt to reform it appears in the *dicta* of the Second Council of Lyons; the reform was gradual, and we do not often find instances of such appointments to incumbencies after the fourteenth century. This acolyte, Gilbertus de Sutton, appears to have been incumbent here for upwards of forty years, when, A.D. 1390, he exchanged livings with Ricardus de Wodeman, Rector of Dolgelly, in the diocese of Bangor.

The living in 1291, the period of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas, was valued at ix. marks, i.e., £6. In 1429, Thomas Rygby, a deacon, was presented to the living by Sir William Trussell, Knight, the then patron.

* A Paper dated June 21, 1872.

Afterwards the manor and advowson came into the Boughton family, which it did by purchase early in the reign of James I. The Hall, or Manor House, appears to have been re-built, *circa* A.D. 1604. Soon after this, *circa* A.D. 1609, some alterations appear to have been made in the east wall of the chancel. The fine large east window of decorated character and flowing tracery was blocked up, and a plain square-headed window of four or five semicircular-headed lights, in the debased style of the period, was inserted. In this state it remained till the year 1821, when the late east window was inserted. The remains of the square-headed window, of Jacobean character, were discovered during the recent alterations. Some few years prior to 1821, the late Mr. Edward Pretty, then Drawing Master to Rugby School, made an accurate and beautiful sketch of the east wall of the chancel, showing the size and tracery of the original east window; this sketch is preserved, with other drawings of the late Mr. E. Pretty, in the Museum at Maidstone, of which, during the latter part of his life, he was Custode. I saw it last July, whilst staying at Leeds Castle, in Kent.

In the seventeenth century four shields, depicted in painted glass, were remaining in some of the windows of the church; these were coeval with the church, and of the families, and charged with the armorial bearings following:—

“Lancaster, Earl of, gules, three lions passant guardant, or.

“Astley, of Astley, azure, a cinquefoil ermine.

“Charnels, azure, a cross engrailed, or.

“Whitehorse, argent, two chevrons gules.”

Some fifty years ago the arms of Astley and Charnels were still remaining in a north window of the nave.

In 1534, 25 Henry VIII., in “The taxation of the second ptie of a subsidye of the Clergy,” the Rector and Curate were thus rated:—

“Bylton-magister, W. Bate, rect. xxxs.; Dnus Henr Myln, cur., vis. ijd. ob.”

In 1705 the Rev. Henry Holyoak, the celebrated Master of Rugby School, was presented to this living, which he appears to have held till his death, in 1731. He must have been well acquainted, during his incumbency, with Addison, sometime Lord of the Manor, and who built the south wing of the Hall. Perhaps among his books, which he left to Rugby School, might have been found some given to him by Addison; but what has become of that collection?

In the latter half of the last century, A.D. 1784, died the Rev. Langton Freeman, Rector of Bilton. He does not appear to have resided at Bilton, but at Whilton, Northamptonshire. He was one of those Clergy in this neighbourhood who were eccentric, or rather perhaps affected eccentricity in order that their names might survive to posterity, and their eccentricities be talked of. Amongst such were the Rev. Staesmore, Vicar of Hillmorton; the Rev. John Shuckburgh, Incumbent of Bourton-on-Dunsmore; the Rev. Archer, Rector of Churchover; and of each of whom eccentric anecdotes might be related. But of Langton Freeman! Possessed

of the Manor of Whilton, residing in the Manor House there, and having a good landed estate there, he devised the same to his nephew, Thomas Freeman, of Daventry, gentleman, conditionally that his instructions as to his interment should be faithfully carried out. By his will, dated 16th September, 1783, he directs as follows :

"And first, for four or five days after my decease, and till my body grows offensive, I would not be removed out of the place or bed I shall die on, and then I would be carried and laid on the same bed, decently and privately, in the summer-house now erected in the garden belonging to the dwelling-house which I now inhabit, in Whilton, and to be laid in the same bed there, with all other the appurtenances thereto belonging, and to be wrapped in a double strong winding sheet, and in all other respects to be interred as near as may be to the description we received in Holy Scripture of our Saviour's burial, the doors and windows to be locked up or bolted, and to be kept as near in the same manner and state they shall be in at the time of my decease, and I desire that the building, or summer-house, may be planted around with evergreen plants, and fenced off with iron or oak pales, and painted of a dark blue colour."

I now proceed to treat of the Church as it formerly existed. Built on an entire plan, and at the same period (about the middle of the fourteenth century, *circa* A.D. 1350), it has always presented to my mind as to the plan, arrangement, and construction, the *beau idéal* of a small village church: at the time of its completion presenting the most exquisite gem of church construction on a small scale I have ever met with; not overloaded in any part with minute detail on the principle or rather practice of a later age, but exhibiting in the utmost perfection the taste of that peculiar age and style which in mediæval architecture and sculpture would vie in comparison with the most choice and highest school of Greek art in design and execution, both in architecture and sculpture. I have visited and made notes of upwards of a thousand churches in this country and on the Continent, but I have never been so much impressed as with the grand but quiet beauty of this small village church. I can imagine its original high-pitched roofs to chancel and nave, its moulded principals, purlins, and wall plates, such as of late existed in the roofs of the churches of Grandborough and Little Shuckburgh: I can imagine the rood screen to have been like that now or lately existing in Wolfhampcote Church: but all these vestiges of ancient wood-work have been long swept away.

We still have the vestiges of the ancient rites of the Church as they prevailed previous to the reign of Edward VI., the piscina or water drain, and the sedilia, or seats for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, when officiating at the eucharistic sacrifice, in the south wall of the chancel; then, in the same wall, westward, the priest's door; then that little square-headed low side and blocked-up window in the south wall of the chancel, westward, which had formerly a wooden shutter, and was used for the rite of "utter confession" by the fraternities of St. Francis, and probably also by those of St. Dominic, under special privileges conferred upon them by Papal Bulls, and under which they sorely interfered with and gave offence to the secular clergy. We find these low side-windows in structures of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but rarely in churches of a prior or later construction.

Then on the north side of the chancel we find the ancient vestry-door, either leading into a vestry since destroyed, or one intended to be constructed and for which provision was made. Then we have in the north wall that beautiful and elegant ogee-shaped arch, richly moulded, crocketed, and terminating in a finial, not always an accessory to a church, but in use as the receptacle beneath which the Easter sepulchre was placed at the season appropriated for that rite. Of the origin, progress, development, and disuse of this rite, I have lately treated in a paper read by me, having been requested to read one on this special subject, at the Meeting of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society, held at Newark, in the month of June, 1871, and which paper has been recently published in the annual report of that and kindred societies. In this paper I have drawn attention to this arch at Bilton. The embattled tower, the spire, the nave of the church, the chancel, the due proportions in exquisite taste each bore to one another (in these days the beauty of proportion is little considered of), furnish us with ample room for reflection and study. In former ages, not the present, it had undergone mutilation from the barbarism of the times, but the latent beauty of the whole still exists. It has been fortunately restored by one whose perception of those beauties is evident, in a conservative, not, as is too often the case, in a destructive spirit.

During the incumbency of the Rev. Henry Holyoak, it is probable that amongst those who entered this venerable pile for public worship, as guests of the eminent squire of Bilton Hall, "poet, wit, philosopher, and saint," were his friends and associates, the famed Dean of St. Patrick and Sir Richard Steele, and, perhaps, "lov'd Montague." The Rev. John Plomer succeeded Mr. Holyoak, not only as Master of Rugby School, but also as Rector of Bilton. The School he resigned in 1742, and retired to Bilton, where he died in June, 1759, and was buried in the chancel. Several of the Boughtons of Bilton were also here buried, and also Edward Addison, brother of the poet, and Charlotte, daughter of Addison.

To conclude with one more notice. On a flat stone in the chancel was this inscription:—

In this vault
Are deposited the remains of
EDWARD AMBROSE HUME,
Who died Jan. 28th, 1815,
Aged 11 years.

He was of a truly amiable disposition, and in early life to me, in age one year younger than himself, a dear and much-loved friend.

ON THE TERRIFIC COMBAT BETWEEN GUY, EARL OF WARWICK, AND THE DUN COW.*

Assumed by *pseudo* Historical Tradition to have taken place on Dunsmore Heath, within four miles of Rugby.

My last notice in the *Meteor* of the "Roads and Runs Round Rugby," carried us forward on the Warwick Road as far as the Avenue, to the border of that debateable land where the above combat is reported to have taken place. As a matter, then, of local interest, I presume, on the suggestion of one well competent to give it, to treat of this romantic adventure.

Confining myself to those portions of the marvellous history of that famed Knight of pure Romance, Sir Guy of Warwick, which detail his achievements in Warwickshire, especially that supposed to have taken place near to Rugby, the presumed site or locality of which, as traditionally handed down, I shall endeavour to point out, a few preliminary remarks are needed.

Romance, whether in the shape of allegory, or mere fiction, formed much of the literature of the Middle Ages, and when a particular allegory or story had become popular, it not unfrequently happened that the ideal hero, whose deeds were recounted, was treated as a real personage, and the actions ascribed to him believed as historically true. One of the most popular romances of the Middle Ages was that of Sir Guy of Warwick. To this noted champion of romance, this, the County of Warwick, has furnished a local habitation and a name. His reputed relics are still among us, mostly at Warwick Castle, one at Rugby. His gigantic statue, though much mutilated, is yet preserved at Guy's Cliff.

The earliest manuscripts we have of this romance are in metrical verse, both in Norman-French and in the vernacular English of the fourteenth century. That version in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is in Norman-French, and is asserted to be of the thirteenth century; the Auchinleck manuscript, and that in the library of Caius College, Cambridge, are in English metrical verse, and both of the fourteenth century; and Bale, who wrote in the reign of Henry VIII., tells us that Walter, of Exeter, a Dominican Friar, wrote the life of Guy, Earl of Warwick, at the request of a certain Baldwin, a citizen of Exeter, A.D. 1301. This, of course, could apply only to the metrical English version. What manuscripts may be in the libraries abroad, at Paris, or elsewhere, I know not.

None of the early manuscripts contain any notice of the Dun Cow, neither do any of the early printed editions.

The earliest of these I have been able to meet with is a French edition, thus described in the *Bibliotheca Heberiana*:

"Guy de Warwick, cy commence Guy de Warwick, Chevalier d'Angleterre, qui en son temps fit plusieurs prouesses et conquestes en allemagne ytalie et Danne marche. Nouvellement imprime a Paris par Antoine Conteau pour Francoys Reynault, 1525."

* *Meteor*, No. 184, Feb. 8, 1883.

This, a folio of ninety leaves, fetched at the sale of Heber's library, £48. 19s.

Another French edition, a small quarto, "L'hysterie de Guy de Warwick, Chevalier d'Angleterre," was printed at Paris, *circa* A.D. 1550, by Jehan Bonfons.

The earliest printed English version known to exist is that entitled, "The Booke of the Most Victorious Prince Guy of Warwick," printed at London by W. Copland, apparently early in the reign of Elizabeth. This, a quarto, is in metrical verse, apparently taken from some ancient manuscript. Heber's copy of this edition cost him £43. 1s. At the sale of his library, it was purchased by an Old Rugbeian, the late William Stanton, Esq., of Longbridge, near Warwick, for £35. It was the only perfect copy known, and was destroyed a few years ago in the lamentable fire of the Free Library at Birmingham.

There is an imperfect copy of this edition in the library of the British Museum. This I examined some years ago, but could find in it no mention of the Dun Cow.

Other early editions:—"The History of Guy Earl of Warwick," (in verse) by John Cawood; this, a quarto without date, I have not met with. "The Famous History of Guy Earl of Warwick," (in verse) by Samuel Rowlands, London, A.D. 1667; this, a quarto, I have not seen.

I proceed to give the earliest notices I have been able to collect in which the Dun Cow appears on the stage, and the story as given in the prose editions of this veracious romance.

* Dr. Caius, in his rare work† "De Rariorum Animalium Historia Libellus," treating "De Bonasi Cornibus," tells us (his treatise is in Latin, which I thus translate):—

"I met with the head of a certain huge animal, of which the naked bone, with the bones supporting the horns, were of enormous weight, and as much as a man could well lift. The curvature of the bones of the horns is of such a projection as to point not straight downwards, but obliquely forwards.....Of this kind I saw another head at Warwick, in the Castle, A.D. 1552, in the place where the arms of the great and strong Guy, formerly Earl of Warwick, are kept. There is also a *vertebra* of the neck of the same animal, of such great size that its circumference is not less than three Roman feet, 7 inches and a half. I think also that the *blade bone*, which is to be seen hung up by chains from the north gate of Coventry, belongs to the same animal: it has, if I remember right, no portion of the back bone attached to it, and it is three feet one inch and a half broad across the lowest part, and four feet six inches in length. The circumference of the whole is not less than eleven feet four inches and a half. In the chapel of the great Guy, Earl of Warwick, which is situated not more than a mile from the town of Warwick (Guy's Cliff) there is hung up a *rib* of the same animal, as I suppose, the girth of which, in the smallest part, is nine inches, the length six feet and a half. It is dry, and on the outer surfaces carious, but yet weighs nine pounds and a half. Some of the common people fancy it to be the rib of a wild boar, killed by Sir Guy, some a rib of a cow, which haunted a ditch near Coventry, and injured many persons. This last opinion I judge to come nearer to the truth, since it may perhaps be the bone of

* *Meteor*, No. 185, March 6, 1883.

† First published A.D. 1579. A copy of this edition was sold in April, 1878, by Messrs. Sotheby, for £31. 10s. od. I have the *altera editio* published A.D. 1729; this also is very rare.

a Bonasus, or Urus. It is probable that many animals of this kind formerly lived in our England, being of old an island full of woods and forests."

The above is the earliest legendary account I have been able to find, connecting, as it were by tradition, the blade bone at Coventry, and the rib at Guy's Cliff, with the history of Guy. It is not, however, till the seventeenth century that the story of the combat with the Dun Cow becomes complete. This, strange to say, is recorded in a Play entitled—"The Tragical History, Admirable Achievements, and Various Events of Guy, Earl of Warwick, a Tragedy acted very frequently with great applause, by his late Majesties servants. Written by B. J., London. Printed for Thomas Vere, and William Gilbertson, Without Newgate, 1661." Size, small quarto. From the Author's initials, "B. J." this is supposed by some to have been written by Ben Johnson, who died in 1637, but I cannot find any mention of it in the list of his works, given by Lowndes. The following are extracts—

Actus Primus. "and now again
he combats with that huge and monstrous beast,
called the wild Cow of Dunsmore Heath.".....

"And by thy hand the wild Cow slaughtered
that kept such revels upon Dunsmore Heath."

Athelstan—"Rainborne 'tis true.....
"the shield bone of the bore of Callidon
shall be hang'd up at Coventrie's great Gate
the rib of the Dun Cow of Dunsmore Heath
in Warwick Castle for a monument
and on his Cave where he hath left his life
a stately Hermitage I will erect
in honour of Sir Guy of Warwick's name."

In a Catalogue of Books printed in England since the dreadful Fire of London in 1666, to the end of Michaelmas term, 1695, I find amongst the Histories, that of "Sir Guy, Earl of Warwick. E. Brewster. Quarto." This I have not met with, and I do not know in what year it was printed. A better known edition, the earliest in prose I have seen, is entitled "The Renowned History (or the Life and Death) of Guy Earl of Warwick, containing his noble exploits and victories. London, printed by A. M. for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Guilt (Spur Street)." In this, the epistle to the reader is subscribed John Shirley. I do not find Shirley's name as an author in Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual. He shortly notices, however, this edition, and I have reason for believing it to have been printed in the year 1703. A copy of this work was sold at the Roxburgh sale for £5. 15s. 6d. It is a small quarto of seventy-nine pages, and is illustrated with twelve rude woodcuts, some of which are repeated; these appear to have been executed in the early part of the seventeenth century. The frontispiece represents Guy in armour, on his horse, with the boar's head on his tilting lance. At page 26, Guy is represented in armour, on foot, with a falchion in his hand, slaying the Dun Cow. At page 63, he is represented as slaying the wild boar. And now to copy from this, the earliest story in prose I have met with relating to Guy.

"Fame had noised thro' every corner of the land, how that a dreadful and monstrous Beast, formed by mageck skill into the likeness of a Cow, or rather a

Cow of vast bulk, possessed by some tempestuous spirit, did terrifie the neighbouring plains, destroying the cattle round about, and putting all their keepers unto flight, being so strong and swift in motion, that it was thought no human force could have destroyed it : the monstrous description of her, as followeth, is affirmed by *Authors of great integrity and worth* ; that she was *four yards in height, six in length*, and had an head proportionable, armed with two sharp horns, growing direct, with eyes all red and fiery, which seemed to dart lightning from afar, she being of a Dun colour, from whence she was named the Dun Cow, and the place, not many miles distant from Warwick, where she haunted, from that monster took the name of *Dunsmore* Heath, which name it keeps unto this day. Upon the notice the King (Athelstan) had at York (where he then was), of the havock and slaughter this Beast had made, he offered knighthood and several other gifts of great worth to any that would venture his life in that encounter, but the terrors of her fierceness had spread itself in such a dreadful shape that none durst undertake the enterprise, but each one wishing for Guy, whom all supposed by this time in France. Guy, having changed his armour, to avoid being known, takes a strong Battle Axe, his Bow and Quiver with him, and so *incognito* riding to the place where this monster used to lodge, which was among a great Thicket of Trees that grew upon the plain, near to a Pool, or standing water, finding as he had passed along, all the Shepherds' cottages deserted, and the carcasses of men and beasts lye scattered round about ; he no sooner came within bow-shot of the place, but the monster espied him, and putting out her head through the thicket, with dreadful eyes glared on him, and began to roar horribly, at which, Guy, who was one of the expertest archers England then had, bent his bow of steel, and drawing an arrow to the head, let fly, the which, as swift as lightning striking on the monster's hide, rebounded as from a wall of adamant, not making the least impression ; at which whilst Guy was wondering, out she came with speed as seemed rather through the air than on the earth, and at him aimed directly her sharp pointed horns, which he observing, lifted his Ax on high, and smote her, and on the front with such a blow, as made her to recoyle ; at which she more enraged came on again, and clappin her horns upon his brest, dinted his high-proofed armour, ere he could avoid her, but, wheeling his war-like horse unto the right, he met her again, and with a redoubled stroke, gave her a wound under the ear, which was the only place she was sensible of being wounded in, whereat she roared aloud, and stamped the ground ; Guy, perceiving that she was mortal, followed that stroke with another no less forcible, at which she fell to the ground, and Guy, alighting, hewed upon her so long, that through her impenetrable skin he battered her skull, till, with a horrid groan she there expired, where leaving her sweltered in a stream of blood, he rode to the next inhabited village, where he made known the monster's death, to the unspeakable joy of all that heard it, the poor people honouring him with presents and thanks more than can here be told, thousands from all parts flocking to behold that monster dead, whom alive they had so much feared. Long it was not ere the King had notice of it, who sent for Guy to York, where he no sooner arrived, but the King embraced him in his arms, and after a splendid entertainment, he gave him the order of knighthood, with many other rich gifts, causing one of the ribs of the said monster to be hanged up in Warwick Castle."

George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, by the Presbyterians and Independents, as he tells us, derisively called Quakers, in his journal, *sub anno* 1655, after leaving Coventry, says—"Then I went on to Dun Cow . . . we lay at the Dun Cow that night," evidently alluding to the Inn, the sign of the Dun Cow at Dunchurch. In Ogilby's road book, edition 1698, the first edition having been published in 1674, he thus notices Dunchurch : "You come to Dunchurch, with two or three good inns, as the Dun Cow, &c." From the above extracts, which may appear of trivial import, it is plain that the legend of the Dun Cow is as early, at least, as the middle of the seventeenth century.

And now as to the reputed site, traditionally handed down, of the Dun Cow's thicket. On emerging from the Dunchurch Station on the Rugby and Leamington Railway, on to the formerly great highway between London and Coventry, we traverse the road towards Coventry for some hundreds of yards, till we come to a farmhouse on the left or south side of the road; this, at the commencement of the present century, was a roadside inn known by the name of the *Blue Boar*. By this inn the old road from Rugby to Leamington diverged in a straight line for a considerable distance from the Avenue or Coventry Road. It is then in one of the fields to the west of this straight line of road that the reputed locality of the Dun Cow's thicket is to be sought for. Whether any pond or pool of water or group of trees at present indicates the spot I cannot say. It is for some one who has better and younger limbs than myself to attempt the discovery. In the second and third decades of the present century, bones and tusks of the Mammoth, or Asiatic Elephant, were discovered in the diluvial soil, in the excavations then being made for lime in the townships of Little Lawford and Kings Newnham, near Rugby. The curvature or length of one of these tusks measured upwards of six feet, and if it had been found a century earlier would have afforded undoubted proof as to the veracity of the story, for popular opinion would at once have pointed to it as unquestionably one of the horns of the Dun Cow, and "no mistake."

The relics at Warwick, Guy's Cliff, and at Rugby, of Guy, have yet to be noticed and dealt with. Enough has, I think, been said to evince the notice of this combat to have been as voracious as that *Voyage Imaginaire*, the "true history of Lucian," to which Dean Swift was, in my opinion, not a little indebted.

OF THE ARMOUR AND RELICS OF THAT HERO OF STORY, GUY, EARL OF WARWICK, AT WARWICK CASTLE AND ELSEWHERE.*

Between the armour now exhibited in the Porter's Lodge at Warwick Castle, and the description of it in the early manuscripts of the Romance, there is a palpable difference, on which I shall now proceed to treat. In the Auchinleck manuscript I omit to quote the passages at length, but will simply give the names of the pieces of armour in detail, as therein enumerated. These, then, consisted of a *gode hawberke of stiel*, a *helme and ventayle*,† *gloves and gambeson*,‡ and *hosen of mayle, a targe*. In the version in the library at Caius College, which is different to the Auchinleck, Guy is represented as *armyd with a hawberke of double*

* *Meteor*, No. 188, May 15, 1883.

† Ventail, or Aventaile, the moveable front to a helmet, subsequently called the Visor.

‡ Gambeson, a stuffed and quilted body-garment, worn under the hawberk.

mayle, hosyn of yren and stele, sporres, hys shyld, a good swerd, a spere. The armour thus early attributed to Guy is of the fourteenth century, and thus described in the metrical versions of the romance of that period.

In the story of "Rembran, Gy's Sone, of Warwick," which follows in the Auchinleck manuscript the story of Guy, an illustration is given of two knights represented in armour of the fourteenth century. One of these appears in a hawberk and chausses of banded mail, with a long sleeveless surcoat over, a basinet or helme of plate, a round buckler or shield suspended from the left arm, and a sword held in the right hand.

Thomas, Earl of Warwick, who flourished in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., had a suite of arras hangings, containing the story of the famous Guy of Warwick. These, by his will, made A.D. 1400, he left to his son Richard, to whom also he left the *sword and coate of maile* sometime belonging to the famous Guy.

Treating of Warwick Castle in his "Antiquities of Warwickshire," published A.D. 1656, Sir William Dugdale saith :—

"Here is to be seen a large two-handed sword, with a helmet and certain plate armour for horse service, which, as the tradition is, were part of the accoutrements sometime belonging to the famous Guy; but I rather think that they are of a much later date; yet I find that in I. Henry VIII. (1509) the sword having that repute, the King granted the custody thereof to Will Hoggeson, one of the yeomen of his Buttry, or his sufficient deputy with the fee of ijd. per diem for that service."

In a topographical excursion in the year 1634, the writer, one of the party, after giving a description of Coventry, concluded by saying :

"Wee were call'd away to visite that famous Castle of Guy of Warwick."
"In or. way thither, in the middle thereof, wee were detain'd one houre at that famous Castle of Killingworth."

After describing this, the writer goes on to say :

"But one thing more remarkable than any we had yet scene, was the sight of the massy heavy armour of that famous and redoubted warriour, whom we next hastened to. In or. way thither and w'thin a mile of Warwicke, wee saw an old decay'd Chappelle, now prophan'd, in being made a woodhouse: there we found his statue full three yards in length, and answerable to his armour."

After describing Warwick Castle, the writer proceeds to say :

"And, as at the last Castle, we met with the high Armor of that warrior (Guy of Warwick) for his Body; so heere wee saw that for his Horse; his fearful Sword and Dagger, the large Rib and Tooth of the wild Bore, wch. they call a dangerous Beast, that frequented the Woods, the Hills, and the Rocks thereabout, wch. hee encountered wthall., and slew, *if report may passe for credit.*"

Evelyn visited Warwick on the 3rd of August, 1654. In his Diary he says :

"We pass'd next through Warwick, and saw the Castle. Here they shew us Sir Guy's great two-handed sword, staff, horses armes, pott, and other reliques of that famous knight-errant. Hence to Sir Guy's Grot (Guy's Cliff). Neere this we were shew'd his chapell and gigantic statue, hewn out of the solid rock. The next place to Coventry. At going forth the Gate they shew us the bone or rib of a wild boare, said to have beene kill'd by Sir Guy, *but which I take to be the chine of a whale.*"

This, the *Blade-bone* as it was called, was subsequently removed to, and hung up against or by the side of one of the other gates of the City, Gosford Gate, or the East Gate, contiguous to which was St. George's Chapel. This removal from Bishop Gate, the North Gate, took place, according to my conjecture, in or about the year 1661, when the demolition of part of the walls of the city, and of some of the gates thereof, was effected under royal mandate, on account of the resistance made to Charles I. in 1642. Gosford Gate was demolished in 1760, but St. George's Chapel was standing in 1822, and the blade bone is still remembered by some of the old inhabitants of Coventry, hanging up against or near to it. Since 1822 I have been unable to trace it : but between 30 and 40 years ago a bone was brought to me, that had for some unknown period done duty as a sign to a public-house between Rugby and Lawford known as "The Blade-bone," and this was said by tradition to have been brought from Coventry. It is still in my possession ; it is much abraded, has an appearance of some antiquity, and measures 3 feet 6 inches in length, and 1 foot 8 inches in breadth, in its widest part.

The supposed Rib of the Dun Cow, formerly seen by Dr. Caius at Guy's Cliff, in 1552, is no longer to be found there, but was probably removed to Warwick Castle, where one such is now shewn ; but when the removal took place I have no means of ascertaining.

The gigantic effigy at Guy's Cliff, sculptured in high relief out of the rock, is well worthy of examination. Sir William Dugdale would attribute this effigy to be the work of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, *circa* A.D. 1430 ; but it is evident it must have been sculptured at a much earlier period, viz., in the reign of Edward II. or Edward III., as all the details point to one or other of those reigns. The representation engraved by Hollar, in the middle of the 17th century, exhibits this effigy as clad in the armour of the early part or middle of the 14th century. On the head appears a basinet of plate ; the body armour consists of a hawberk and chausses of mail, over which is worn a short, sleeveless, cyclas*-like surcoat, belted round above the loins. The effigy is represented holding an uplifted sword in the right hand, whilst to the left arm is affixed a long heater†-shaped shield, further suspended by a guige‡ crossing obliquely in front from the right shoulder. This engraving by Hollar can, however, hardly be considered a trustworthy representation, when compared with the much mutilated effigy as it at present exists.

This effigy, as it appeared a century ago, was engraved from a seemingly accurate drawing, taken July 30, 1782, by Mr. John Carter, an eminent antiquary of the latter part of the last and early

* Cyclas, a garment made of a rich stuff or silk, manufactured in the Cyclades ; used in the fourteenth century as a synonym for surcoat.

† Heater, signifies the ordinary shape of shield, with straight top and pointed base, used in the thirteenth and subsequent centuries, in place of earlier round and oblong shapes.

‡ Guige, the strap which supported the shield by being passed round the neck of the Knight.

part of the present century ; the right arm and sword, and the left leg, were then delineated as gone, and the effigy otherwise much mutilated. This engraving was prefixed to the "Memoir of the Story of Guy, Earl of Warwick, by the Rev. Samuel Pegge, M.A."

In the Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinets for 1808 a poor engraving is given of this effigy.

In an edition, the last, of "Guy, Earl of Warwick," published by Merridew, Coventry and Warwick, 1821, a fair representation is given of this effigy, in which the left leg appears.

But by far the best representation is a small photograph, taken a few years ago ; this exhibits most clearly that peculiar *pose* of the figure for which the sculptured effigies of the middle of the fourteenth century are more or less remarkable. This effigy must, I think, be between eight and nine feet in height.

We now come to the articles shewn at Warwick Castle as constituting the body armour and horse armour of our hero ; and these alone evince him to have been no ordinary mortal. For we find a basinet or headpiece of the time of Edward III. to have formed his helme ; a Hungarian pavois or shield of the time of Henry VII. does duty as his breastplate, and a vizored wall shield of the reign of James I. serves as his back-plate. In these last two articles he was equipped like the Governor of Barrataria, the quondam Squire of Don Quixote. A two-handed sword, 5 feet 6 inches long, of the era of Henry VIII., is that pointed out as wielded by him ; whilst the shaft of a tilting lance, the earliest I have met with, served, if you will believe it, as his walking staff. That his lady, the fair Phillis, should not be forgotten, a pair of pointed slippered stirrups of iron, of the reign of Henry VI., are ascribed to be her veritable slippers. As to his horse armour, an immense chanfron or headpiece, a poitrall worn in front of the horse's breast, and a croupiere to defend the horse's flanks, are of more than usual magnitude, and of the reign of Henry VI. ; whilst his breakfast cup, or, as it is usually called, "Porridge pot," with its attendant fork, is a huge iron cauldron of considerable antiquity, used for seething the flesh rations of the garrison.

Guy was a wonderful man, when we consider his martial exploits and the several ages in which, from his armour, he may be supposed to have lived. But he was more than this : for in Gerard Leigh's "Accedens of Armoury," published A.D. 1562, we find enumerated the Nine Worthies of the World : Duke Joshua, Hector, Alexander, Judas Maccabæus, Julius Cæsar, King Arthur, Charlemagne, and last, not least, our Warwickshire Hero of Romance, *Guy, Earl of Warwick*.

THE AVENUE AND KENILWORTH.*

Reaching the London Road we turn to the right, on the way to Coventry, through the well known avenue of Scotch firs which border the road through the estate of the Duke of Buccleuch for an extent of six miles. This avenue was planted by John, Duke of Montagu, well known as John the Planter, about the year 1740. He died in 1749, and his monument in Warkton Church, in Northamptonshire, by Roubiliac, is an allegorical conceit, in which the *Parcæ* or Fates, *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos* are represented spinning and cutting the thread of life. It is said that the late Sir Henry Parnell, whilst improving this, the great road from London to Ireland, after the Peace in 1815, sought for power to cut down this avenue, but was so strenuously opposed by the late Duchess of Buccleuch, who held for life the Warwickshire estates of that family, and who, in this neighbourhood, was known as "The Duchess," that he was completely foiled in his endeavour. He then prepared a scheme for diverting the road from Weedon to Lichfield along the Watling Street. This scheme was knocked on the head when the London and Birmingham Railway was projected. This avenue is well cared for, and when any of the trees decay others are planted in their stead.

Proceeding about a hundred yards on the way we arrive on the left at the road issuing from the Avenue to Leamington and Warwick. Adjoining the road at the junction is a house which was, a few years ago, the residence of Mr. W. Hubbard, deceased, sometime the Registrar of the County Court held at Rugby; but this house was formerly a noted road-side Inn, known by the sign of "The Blue Boar," after the wild animal of that description killed, according to the Legend of these parts, by the renowned Guy, Earl of Warwick, of fabulous memory.

After some two miles, we pass a house on the right, called "Frog Hall," a building of no great antiquity, but built on the site of a much older edifice, and of one worthy to be recorded. It was a public-house in the parish of Wolston, at which the private or petty sessions of the Justices of the Peace for the Hundred of Knightlow were held. I have a record of the proceedings at a meeting in 1631. Under the head of Dunchurch:—

"George Treuman and Thomas Wilkinson are fined 20s. apiece for selling ale without license. They have nothing to be distrayned butt are comanded to be whipt."

Amongst the proceedings at this session, at which the Justices present were Basill F'lding and William Boughton, are noted:—

"The prises of Corne at Rugby the 17th of Septemb, 1631. Wheat at 4s. 6d. (per quarter), Maslin† at 4s., Rie at 3s. 4d., Barley at 2s. 6d., Malt at 4s. 6d."

* *Meteor*, No. 127, July 31, 1878, and No. 128, Oct. 24, 1878. These articles serve as a continuation of that on the Bilton and Warwick Road, pages 158 to 161. Some portions of the articles are here omitted, the subjects with which they deal, Guy of Warwick, the Dun Cow, &c., having already been treated of.

† Maslin, or Mastlin, a name of a mixed grain, especially rye and wheat.

This was 247 years ago.

We next come to an ancient British tumulus, or Barrow, on the brink of the hill, with an extensive and delightful view westward. This, called Knightlow Hill, gives name to the Hundred of Knightlow. On this tumulus was formerly a road-side cross, of which only the morticed base now exists. When the shaft was destroyed is not apparent, but it was probably in the sixteenth century. An ancient custom, prevalent at this spot, is stated by Dr. Thomas, who in 1730 published, with additions, the second edition of Sir William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, to be existing in his time. It is not, however, noticed by Sir William Dugdale, who published the first edition in 1656. Dr. Thomas says:—

"There is a certain rent due unto the Lord of this Hundred called *Wroth* money, or *Warth* money, or *Swarff* penny, probably the same with *Ward* penny. This rent must be paid every Martinmas Day, in the morning, at Knightlow Cross, before the sun riseth; the party paying it must go thrice about the Cross, and say '*The Wrath Money*,' and then lay it in the hole of the said Cross before good witness; for if it be not duly performed, the forfeiture is thirty shillings and a white bull."

Then he gives the list of 33 places in the Hundred paying sums varying from one penny to 2s. 3d. I believe this custom is observed at the present day, but with what modifications I know not.*

At Knightlow Hill we descend, and skirting the village of Ryton turn from the Coventry Road through Bubbenhall and Stoneleigh to Kenilworth. We pass by the old stone quarries of Bubbenhall, from whence came the ashlar stones of large size with which the old, unique, and remarkable tower of the Parish Church of Rugby was, in the fourteenth century, constructed.

Entering the Parks at Stoneleigh, we pass on the right, but not in view, two very interesting stone bridges, one of which may date from the twelfth, whilst the other has undoubtedly features of the fourteenth century. We pass close by the Gatehouse of Stoneleigh Abbey, an ancient and most interesting structure, built by Abbot Thomas de Pipe, in the fourteenth century; but we see little of the Abbey except the classic western front. One of three great Cistercian Abbeys in Warwickshire, the other two being Combe and Merevale, all three founded about the year 1135: it contains more of the original structure than either of the other two, for the north corridor is in fact the south aisle of the Abbey Church; whilst the south transept, the chapter house, and the abbot's lodgings (some portions being of the twelfth, others of the fourteenth century, though these buildings have been modified in the seventeenth century), form the eastern side of the court. Amongst the most precious relics preserved in this mansion, is the *Leiger Book* of the Abbey. This contains the *Acta Abbatum*, written by Thomas de Pipe, abbot

* This ceremony still takes place every year on Nov. 11, St. Martin's Day. The number of places which now make payments is twenty-five. The custom of thrice walking round the cross has fallen into disuse. The penalty is now twenty shillings for every penny not forthcoming, or a white bull with red nose and ears.

in the fourteenth century, being an account of his predecessors in the Abbey : one he describes as a simple-minded man :—

“*Vir sanctæ vitæ et pecuniæ spreter.*”

Of another he observes that the only good thing he did during his Abbey was the building of a new refectory :—

“*Sub quo tamen constructum est novum refectorium, sed cum multis esset odiosus, dicebatur quod illud solum fecit bonum, videlicet, quod refectorium edificavit.*”

Next to the chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond, the gossiping monk of St. Edmunds Bury, and the *Acta Abbatum*, of St. Albans, by Matthew Paris, the Leiger Book of Stoneleigh gives us perhaps as correct an idea of monastic every-day life as we are likely to obtain.

Crossing the Avon near the Abbey we pass over a private bridge in the Park, about which stories are told which are stories indeed, and nothing else, and proceeding in a straight road through plantations, we emerge into the road between Leamington and Kenilworth, and crossing the railway bridge and through part of Kenilworth, we drive by a side road down to the Castle.

The gate house was built in the reign of Elizabeth, by Dudley, Earl of Leicester ; Cæsar's Tower, the original castle, built by Geoffrey de Clinton, A.D. 1100–35, is, with the exception of the walls which surround the precincts, the only portion of the Castle which withstood the famous siege of 1266, when for six months the besieged baffled all attempts of the King, Henry III., to take the Castle, and were eventually compelled to surrender it through famine, being regularly starved out. The great hall and buildings on the south side may be referred to the close of the fourteenth century, to the time of John of Gaunt, whilst those on the north, opposite Cæsar's Tower, were built by Queen Elizabeth's favourite, Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

The following description taken from that of a topographical excursion in 1635, when the Castle was perfect, may not be uninteresting. The writer tells us :—

“Wee were detain'd one houre at that famous Castle of Killingworth, where we were usher'd up a fayre ascent into a large and stately Hall of 20 paces in length, the rooffe whereof is all of Irish wood neatly and handsomely fram'd. In it is five spacious chimneys, answerable to so great a roome : we next view'd the Great Chamber for the Guard, the Chamber of Presence, the Privy Chamber, fretted above richly with coats of armes, and all adorned with fayre and rich chimney pieces of Alabaster, blacke marble and of joyners work in curious carv'd wood ; and all those fayre and rich roomes, and lodgings in that spacious tower not long since built and repayr'd at a great cost by that great favourite of late dayes (Robert Dudley, Earle of Leicester). The private, plain, retiring chamber wherein our renowned Queene of euer famous memory, alwayes made choise to repose herselfe. Also, the famous, strong, old Tower called Julius Cæsar, on top whereof wee view'd the pleasant large poole continually spouting and playing on the Castle, the Parke, and the forests contiguous thereunto. But one thing more remarkable than anything we had yet seene, was the sight of the massy heavy armour of that famous and redoubted warrior, Guy, Earl of Warwick.”

Of the famous Progress of Queen Elizabeth to this castle in

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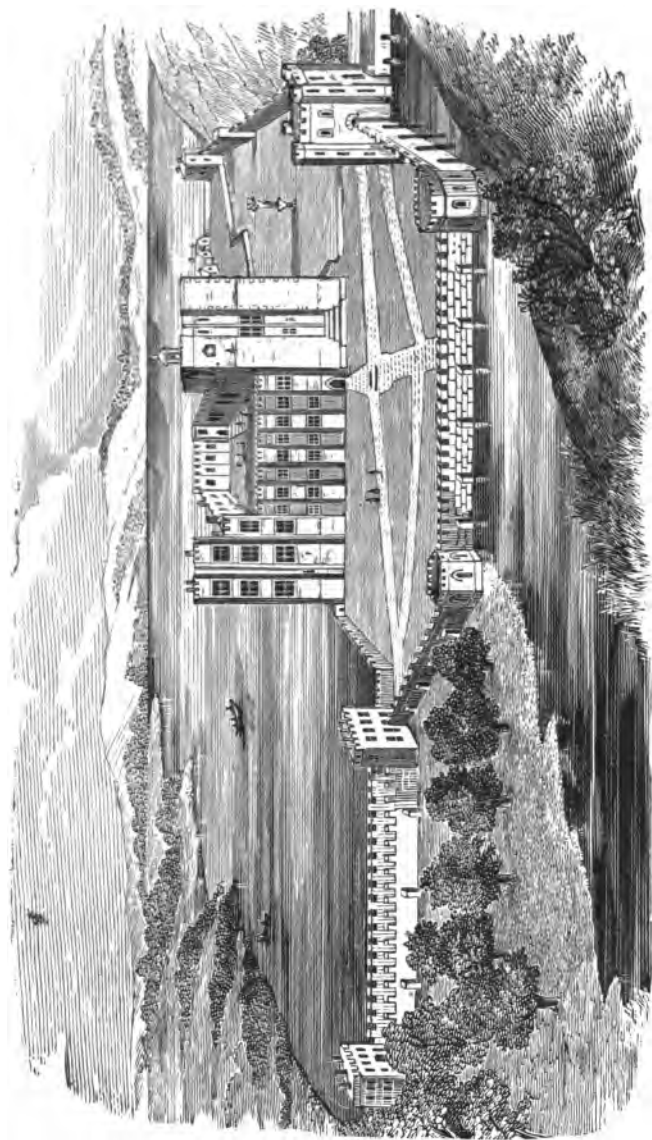
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KENILWORTH CASTLE, A D. 1620.

1575 we have two contemporary accounts, one by George Gascoigne, entitled "The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle," a somewhat prosaic composition; and the other, better known as "Laneham's Letter," being an account of the Queen's entertainment at Kenilworth Castle in a gossiping and entertaining letter by that worthy, Robert Laneham, Clerk of the Council Chamber Door, and also Keeper of the same. This letter, addressed by the writer to "His friend a citizen and merchant of London, Master Humphrey Martin," is written in a quaint and humorous style, well deserving of a chapter in Elizabethan literature. He gives a diurnal of the festivities during the Queen's stay, and incidentally introduces some account of his boyish days at St. Paul's School, London.

Kenilworth Castle was purchased by the Crown in the early part of the seventeenth century, and intended as a country residence for the heir apparent of the Crown, Henry Prince of Wales, who never, however, resided here. It was dismantled by the Parliamentarians during the Civil Wars, and so gradually fell into decay.

ROADS AND RUNS ROUND RUGBY.

VI. THE LAWFORD ROAD.*

This is, methinks, the most ancient of all the roads leading from Rugby, being, perhaps, of old time, a British vicinal track-way from the Foss eastward towards the Watling Street, parallel with the southern bank of the Avon. On the way from Rugby to Lawford we first pass, on the left, in the outskirts of the town, what we may consider to be an ancient sepulchral mound, or tumulus, probably raised over the ashes or remains of some chieftain of the ancient British tribe of the Dobuni: a mound which may have been also used for a military purpose, viz., for conveying intelligence from one post to another between those two ancient British track-ways, the Fosse Road and the Watling Street, subsequently improved and converted into regular military roads by the Romans, who had stations, often defensive, along the lines.

At New Bilton—a recent and populous suburb of Rugby, the site of which formerly belonged to one who, by his writings, attained no slight eminence in English history, Joseph Addison—not more than a quarter of a mile from the mound above noticed, and which for many years past has been known as "Butlin's Mound," was discovered, in digging in a garden, on the 31st December, 1867, a fine Celtic or ancient British dagger of brass, or copper, of the leaf-shaped form, of a very early type, and nearly ten inches in length. This ancient weapon, which may have belonged to the chieftain, whose remains lie probably beneath the ancient mound I

* *Meteor*, No. 192, July 24, 1883.

have noticed at Rugby, is in my possession. It was given to me by Mr. William Gilbert, in whose garden it was found. A few days after this discovery, the dagger was exhibited by me at a meeting in London of the Society of Antiquaries, and an engraving and account of it appeared in the transactions of that Society.

A little beyond New Bilton was formerly a lone public house, known by the sign of "The Blade Bone," a huge flat bone, much abraded on the surface, serving as the sign. This was reputed to be the veritable bone which formerly depended from one of the gates of Coventry, and of which I have commented in one of my recent articles in the *Meteor* on the wonderful exploits of Guy, Earl of Warwick.

Passing by Long Lawford at the southern end of the village, the road proceeds to Church Lawford. It should be stated that in the township of Long Lawford, on the left bank of the Avon, a few years ago, Roman remains were discovered, not more, however, than to indicate the settlement of, perhaps, a single family. At Little Lawford, on the right bank of the river, some 70 years ago, Roman sepulchral urns were discovered in well-shaped cist, steyned with limestone; and at Kings Newnham both Roman and ancient British remains have been found, but not more than sufficient to indicate the settlement of one or two families only. In the middle of Church Lawford are indications of a mound which may have been ancient and in connection with that at Rugby. The ancient church of Kings Newnham was, with the exception of the tower, demolished about 90 years ago. In the *Rugby Magazine* of 1837, in an article written by me and entitled "Rugby and its Neighbourhood," I mentioned a tradition I had heard, when a child, of someone who had suffered being buried here. In the month of August, 1852, within the precincts of the site of the church of Kings Newnham, the discovery was made of a lead coffin, without inscription, containing the body of a man, which had been embalmed with great care, but the head of which had been decapitated; on the linen on his chest were the letters T. B., worked in black silk. My endeavours to ascertain the name of him whose body was thus discovered have been unavailing; my conjecture is that it was of someone who suffered in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century. Embalming was an art practised in this country in the seventeenth century, more so, perhaps, than at any other period. Whose body this was remains a problem yet to be solved. Close to the church stood the mansion of Sir Francis Leigh, created Lord Dunsmore in 1628, and Earl of Chichester in 1644. He was a nobleman of considerable weight in this neighbourhood, and a Trustee of Rugby School. He died at Kings Newnham in 1653, and was there buried. His leaden coffin, with others, was discovered in 1852. A little to the west of the church of Kings Newnham, some years ago, an ancient British tumulus was levelled.

At the distance of about a mile and a half from Church Lawford, the old road to Coventry joins the Foss Road, running at right angles, an ancient British track-way, converted by the Romans into a great military road; and here, at a short distance from the Avon, we turn to the right, and for a space traverse the Foss Road.

Having crossed the river by the bridge, some distance westward of the ancient ford, we enter into Bretford, perhaps the smallest market town in England, for in 1730 there were here but eleven houses. Since then the population has increased, and by the census of 1871 there appear to have been then 39 houses and 131 inhabitants. In the year 1227, Nicholas de Verdon obtained from the King, Henry III., a special charter for a weekly market to be held here on the Tuesday; and in the reign of Edward I. a permanent gallows for the execution of criminals generally was erected here—not a mere gibbet for the suspension of a single evil-doer. There was also a religious house here, a small nunnery; and unconnected with the nunnery a chapel of which I have a list of the incumbents, eleven in number, in succession, from A.D. 1303 to 1360. But, *tempus edax rerum*, neither the site of the nunnery, or of the chapel, or of the gallows, is now known. In going up this ancient market town, we come to the cross road on the right, leading at right angles into the Foss Road, which goes in a straight line from the ford to Brinklow, whilst the road on the left is the route to Brandon. Before turning to the left, a ditch-like aperture may be observed in front, debouching from the north to this point. This is in reality an ancient British covered way or lane, called Tutbury Lane, running not quite parallel with the Foss Road, but nearly so. A wheelbarrow might, perhaps, be driven up this lane, but no other carriage could, and it is impassable in wintry and rainy weather. To the botanist it might, in the summer, afford a good field for exploration. The strategic use of this ditch-like lane seems to be this: that a body of men having crossed the river through the ford, and on their march to Brinklow on the Foss Road, might be taken in flank and rear by a hostile party concealed in and emerging from this ancient covered way. Just beyond the commencement of the route to Brandon is another road over Brinklow Heath and by Binley and Stoke to Coventry, and this is the road delineated in Ogilby's Road Book. The latter, entitled "Ogilby's Britannia," a folio with 100 maps on copperplates, was first published in 1674; the edition I possess is that of 1698. The principal roads in the kingdom are laid down on the scale of one inch to a mile, but the furlongs are also marked. In the 61st map is laid down the road from Cambridge to Coventry, through Northampton and Rugby. It is only of the last part of this road I treat. Emerging from Rugby, Bilton Church is given on the left, Newbold Church on the right; Long Lawford is not set down in its proper place, but Church Lawford is, and the church of Kings Newnham is represented as that of Long Lawford. At Bretford a stone bridge is noticed as crossing the Avon, and the road to Coventry passes over Brinklow Heath, then by Combe Park and Binley, where a stone bridge is mentioned as crossing the river Sow, thence by Stoke to Coventry. Rugby is noticed as:

"An indifferent large town. It has a free school and 4 almshouses; with a good Mt. on Saturd., and 2 fairs, viz., on Lammas Day, and St. Martin."

And now as to certain historical incidents which have taken place on and along this road. Early in July, 1460, Henry VI., of

mournful memory, marched with his army from Coventry to Northampton, the, to him, disastrous battle of Northampton being fought on the 9th of that month. Although we have no precise evidence of the fact that this road was the route he took, it is a matter of more than ordinary conjecture; it was the old route, it was the nearest route, and there were strategic reasons why the march should not be along the London Road. It is also no far-fetched but reasonable conjecture that he would halt at Rugby, at perhaps the only habitation there fit to receive him, the Grange of the Monks of Pipewell in the School Close. I remember the moated area. I need hardly remind my readers that King Henry VI. was the founder of Eton College. I may observe that the helmets of the troop of horse, which came into Rugby to-day (July 13) are, with the exception of the spike on the top of the helmet, very similar in shape to the *salade*, or helmet in use in the reign of Henry VI., and which many of his army would have worn.

In "Perfect Occurrences," one of the periodical publications which made their appearance during the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, from the 28th March to April 4th, 1645, under date Northampton, 31st March, is the following notice:

"Yesterday, being the Lord's Day, Lieut-General Cromwell being at this town of Northampton, with a good body of horse and foot, by the advice of his council of war marched from hence with 1,500 horse, and two regiments of foot, to muster at *Rugby*, in Warwickshire, where they intended to quarter that night, about 16 miles march, and after their muster to march towards Coventry, about 8 or 10 miles further, and there to stay for the present, to attend the motions of the enemy, for the securing those parts."

Since the reign of Henry VI., no so numerous a body of troops, not less probably than 2,500, have ever passed through Rugby. As a matter of course, Cromwell would occupy the best quarters, the manor house, on the site of which stands the present School House; the troops would bivouac in the open fields on the outskirts of the town; whilst Cromwell's own body-guard, his Ironsides, would occupy the grounds adjoining the manor house, viz., the present School Close.

It was along this road that, on the 5th of June, 1690, King William III., having slept the previous night at Northampton, passed with his retinue on his journey from London to the coast, previous to his embarking for Ireland. On this occasion one Gill Morris is traditionally said to have been employed to serve as guide to His Majesty, to conduct him from Rugby the nearest and best route to Coventry. But whether Gill was a Jacobite or not (a Jacobite family was then resident at Causton Hall), he contrived to give His Majesty the slip near to Wolston, on which His Majesty, in high dudgeon at being thus treated, is said to have uttered, in high Dutch, expletives more forcible than polite. Now I have known three old inhabitants of Rugby, who knew and had conversed with a son of King William's guide, and of the same name, and to one of these he told the story in substance as I have given it—perhaps in more expressive terms, as he was an old soldier. I cannot, however, find the name of either father or son in the parish register.

The last incident I am about to notice took place little more than a century ago. Early in the month of September, 1780, Captain John Donellan was arrested at Lawford Hall, since demolished, on a charge of murder, for the poisoning of his brother-in-law, Sir Theodosius Boughton, Bart. He was conducted on foot by two constables, from Long Lawford to Rugby, along this road. As he approached the town, many of the inhabitants, aware of his having been taken into custody, went out on the Lawford Road to meet him ; amongst these were several members of the School, for there existed a feud between him and the members of the School, on account of his having prohibited them from fishing in the Avon, near Lawford Hall, and with them he was no favourite. Amongst those who went out to meet him, was a poor idiot lad, well known in Rugby by the name of Taffy White, one accustomed to be giped at by the community. As Captain Donellan approached Rugby, walking between his guards, the poor idiot, with apparent glee, ran and danced before him, exclaiming from time to time, "Who's Taffy now? who's Taffy now?" This story was told me by an eye-witness, an Old Rugbeian. The subsequent fate of Captain Donellan is well known.

ONE-HANDED BOUGHTON, OR THE LEGEND OF LAWFORD HALL.*

There is hardly a county in England which does not claim attention for its local legends. In these, Warwickshire is not deficient. The story of St. Augustine, the missionary to the Anglo-Saxons, and of his raising a dead man, one who had been long buried, at Long Compton : the legend of Guy, Earl of Warwick, who is said to have flourished in the reign of King Athelstan, and of his wondrous exploits, such as his combat with the Dun Cow, a huge animal, if you will believe it, some six yards in length, whose abode or trysting-place was within half-a-mile of the Dunchurch Station—I think I could point out the site of "The Dun Cow's Thicket"—ought to leave no doubt of the fact, more especially as I have in my possession the veritable blade-bone of this wonderful creature, a bone of a very ancient fish-like appearance, very like a whale, on which I invite any member of the Rugby School Natural History Society to express an opinion. Being, however, somewhat of a sceptic on certain points of legendary lore, I can hardly trace the romance of this mythical hero to an earlier period than the fourteenth century, when romances were apt to be changed into stern realities. To the same period, not earlier, would I trace the groundless legend of that good Lady the Countess Godiva, of Coventry, who really was alive in the reign of Edward the Confessor, in the early half of the eleventh century ; the legend itself not being heard of till 300 years after her death, when, the mural tax for fortifying Coventry being a

* *Meteor*, No. 155, Oct. 30, 1880.

sore and grievous burden on the inhabitants, this legend appears to have been invented, or rather transferred from another of whom it was first related. "Peeping Tom," that too curious knight of the thimble, whose eyes, as the story goes, dropped out of his head, did not appear upon the stage earlier than in the reign of Charles II. His effigy, carved as clad in armour, cannot be earlier than the reign of Henry VII. Add to these the legend of the Cave of Alcock the robber, the substance of which I gave in a late number of the *Meteor*,* and you will have, I think, all the local legends adverted to by our county historians, Sir William Dugdale and Dr. Thomas, neither of whom, we may presume, seem to have heard of "The Legend of Lawford Hall."

Samuel Ireland, the well-known author of the Shakespeare forgeries, in his valuable and readable work, "Picturesque Views of the Upper or Warwickshire Avon," published in 1795, the first portion of which work appears to have been written some five years before its publication, gives us in that work the first published notes relating to this legend. He thus treats of it :

"Approaching the grounds where Lawford Hall, the seat of the Boughtons, formerly stood, we pass the spot on which, Dugdale says, 'there was antiently a capital messuage and diverse cottages, belonging to the Monks of Pipewell Abbey.' Nothing remains of these buildings at present but a large corn mill, on the bank of the river, which is directly opposite to the site of ground on which Lawford Hall stood till within these *five* years, when it was taken down by the late Sir Edward Boughton, Bart., from whom the manor and site was purchased by John Caldecott, Esq., of Rugby, its present possessor. No part is standing of this ancient seat but its stabling, which is now applied to the purposes of a farmhouse."

Ireland goes on to say :

"In Lawford Hall, I am told, a room was preserved as the bed-chamber of an ancestor of the family, who, in the time of Elizabeth, having lost an arm, went afterwards by the appellation of One-handed Boughton. After his death the room was reported to be haunted, and as such many attempts were made to sleep in it, but in vain ; and such is the credulity of the common people, that it was with difficulty any labourer could be prevailed on to assist in pulling it down. The ghost of this one-handed gentleman, I was told by persons on the spot, had been frequently seen by their fathers, riding across the neighbouring grounds in a coach and six ; and with the same air of confidence I was informed that with-

* *Meteor*, No. 153, July 27, 1880. "Sir William Dugdale tells us a legend which was probably current in Shakespeare's days, of a place not far from Stratford-upon-Avon. Treating of the village of Upton, near Alcester, Sir William says : 'Southwards from Haseler (but within the same parish) is a coppice wood and in it a notable hill, which is of such a steep and equall ascent from every side, as if it had been artificially made, so that it is a very eminent mark over all that part of the country, and by the common people called 'Alcock's Arbour,' toward the foot whereof is a hole, now (*circa* A.D. 1650) almost filled up, having been the entrance into a cave as the inhabitants report ; of which cave there is an old wives' story that passes for current amongst the people of the adjacent towns, viz., that one Alcock, a great robber, used to lodge therein, and having got much money by that course of life, hid it in an iron-bound chest, whereunto were three keys ; which chest they say is still there, but guarded by a cock that continually sits upon it : and that on a time an Oxford schollar came thither, with a key that opened two of the locks ; but as he was attempting to open the third, the cock seized on him. To all which they adde that if one bone of the partie, who set the cock there, could be brought, he would yield up the chest.'"

in the present century (viz., 18th century) his perturbed spirit had been laid by a numerous body of the clergy, who conjured it into a phial, and threw it into a marle pit opposite the house. Nor does the family seem to have been exempt from a similar superstition and belief in ghosts, for it is told of the late Sir Theodosius' father, that being visited by his neighbour, the late Sir Francis Skipwith, and walking together near the marle pit, Sir Francis observed that he thought there must be many fish in that pond, and that he should be glad to try it; to which Sir Edward Boughton gravely replied, 'No, that I cannot consent to, for the spirit of my ancestor, the One-handed Boughton, lies there.'

Upwards of twenty years ago I conversed with two ancient habitans who, in early youth, resided in the neighbourhood of Lawford Hall, and were conversant with the traditions of the place. The first of these, Mr. John Watts, formerly an innkeeper at Rugby, died through inanition on Christmas Eve, in the severe winter of 1860, being 93 years of age; he must, therefore, have been born 113 years ago, in 1767, or about that year. According to his account, the ghost of One-handed Boughton frequented Causton Hall, the remains of which were pulled down between 50 and 60 years ago. The site is now occupied by Causton Lodge, the residence of Lady John Scott: it was laid in a pond there by a Dr. Snow. Unaccountable noises are even now occasionally heard at Causton Lodge, of which no explanation has as yet been afforded. In his youth Mr. John Watts was servant boy to Miss Addison, of Bilton Hall. He had previously been in service at Causton Hall. In his early days he, John Watts, was near Lawford Hall, in company with an old man, one Aaron Essex, who pointed out to him what he said was the carriage of the ghost of One-handed Boughton; but Watts could see neither carriage or ghost. Essex, however, told him that he often saw them both. Perhaps he had the gift of second sight. The education, as far as book-learning was concerned, of John Watts in early life had been somewhat neglected—he could neither read or write—but his memory was strong and retentive. According to him it was the ghost of Sir Edward Boughton which frequented Lawford Hall. My other informant, Mr. John Wolf, died about 10 years ago, and was buried at Marton. It would appear from his tombstone that at the time of his death he was 100 years of age, but I hardly think he was so old by perhaps two or three years. Born at King's Newnham, he was baptized at Church Lawford in, I think, the year 1777, but as he was then a stout boy and walked with his mother to church from King's Newnham, the entry of his baptism in the register affords no criterion by which to judge of the date of his birth; but he was very aged. Till within a few months of his death he was accustomed to walk eight or ten miles a day without a stick. At last, worn out with age, in attempting to put on his clothes one morning, he felt his strength to fail him, and in a few hours was no more. In his youth the schoolmaster was abroad: so much indeed that John Wolf was never able to meet with him, and, therefore, was destitute of any knowledge of the three r's, but his memory was good and retentive. John Wolf's father died when he was about four years of age; his mother, Esther Wolf, living at King's Newnham, used to char at Lawford Hall. He often went in the evening to Lawford Hall to wait for his mother, and well remembered the housekeeper saying to her,

"Esther, you come and take your supper and begone; Boughton will be here before you're off the ground, and you wouldn't like to see him."

One-handed Boughton had a bedroom to himself; the house-keeper stood by whilst the girl made the bed, otherwise the girl would not have made it. He remembered the coachman, gardener, and footman from Lawford Hall coming to his father's to be shaved. One of them said :

"I went to Long Lawford wake after they (meaning the family) were gone to bed; I got back again about one; and I met One-handed Boughton just at-top of the stairs : he came by me."

One evening whilst John Wolf was sitting in his mother's house at King's Newnham, within a mile of Lawford Hall, a neighbour came in and said :

"I've just seen One-handed Boughton; I saw his coach coming along the road, and I opened the gate (there was, and may be still, a gate in the road where the division is between Little Lawford and King's Newnham), but the coach and horses flew over the gate."

Mr. Wolf also told me that One-handed Boughton was laid in a pit in the field to the east of Lawford Hall, but that he was to have two hours every night. Twelve clergymen assembled to lay the ghost : the lighted candles of eleven of them went out : Parson Hall's candle continued lighted, and he laid the ghost. Mr. Wolf also told me that the smack of a whip was heard when One-handed Boughton approached : he was dressed in scarlet, with a hunting cap on his head. Thus Ireland and my informants. It was not unusual in the early part of the last century for the coaches of the country gentry to be drawn or dragged along by six horses; the roads were in many places mere quagmire. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Warwickshire coach from Coleshill to London was four days on its journey, the passengers stopping each night at an inn on their way. Hillmorton, one of the stopping places, was full of these receptacles for travellers. The costume the ghost is said to have appeared in was of scarlet and a jockey cap. When the late Sir Henry Halford and his two brothers were entered at Rugby School, in 1774-5, they were arrayed in scarlet clothes, and wore cocked hats. Parson Hall, as John Wolf tells us, laid the ghost. Now the Rector of Great Harborough, in the middle of the last century, was the Rev. — Hall, and is thus designated in the Inclosure Award of that parish in 1754 : so that we may fairly assume the ghost was laid about the middle of the last century, and with what form or ceremony? I find no such form in Bishop Lacey's Pontifical, supposed to have been written in the fourteenth century. But in the "Antiquitates Vulgares; or the Antiquities of the Common People," edited by Henry Bourne and published in 8vo. at Newcastle, in 1725, a form of exorcising is given. This form is said to have been taken from an older work, *Practica Exorcistarum F. Valerii Polidori Patavii ad Dæmones et Maleficia de Christi fidelibus expellendum*. 12mo. Venet. 1606. I have, however, been unable to refer either to the last-mentioned

work or to Bourne, nor do I find any form for laying a ghost in Maskell's *Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. That some form was gone through is probable, and between, I believe, the years 1810 and 1820, in the pond near the site of Lawford Hall, where the ghost of One-handed Boughton was said to have been laid, an old-fashioned glass bottle was fished up: this was taken by the tenant of the farm to John Caldecott, Esq., of Holbrook. It has since passed into the possession of Allesley Boughton Leigh, Esq., owner of Brownsover Hall, a lineal descendant of the Boughtons of Lawford Hall. It has been exhibited at two local exhibitions held at Rugby within the last twenty years, and was productive of much interest in recalling to old people of the neighbouring villages traditionary recollections of their youthful days.

But as to the origin of this legend? We must go back to the reign of James I., who, in 1611, instituted the hereditary dignity of Baronets by Patent, and enjoined that they should bear as an honourable augmentation on a canton in their armorial ensigns, the royal arms of Ulster, viz., *argent, a sinister hand, erect, gules*, the senior branch of the baronetcy having been instituted to promote the Plantation of that Province. Sir William Boughton, of Lawford Hall, was the first of that branch of the family to whom the baronetcy was granted, the grant taking place on the 4th of August, 1641. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Edward Boughton, who dying without issue, in 1680, the title devolved on his brother, Sir William Boughton, who died in 1683, leaving a son, Sir William Boughton, for many years M.P. for the County of Warwick, who died in 1716, leaving a son, Sir Edward Boughton, who died in 1721-2. He left a son, Sir Edward Boughton, who enjoyed the baronetcy for fifty years. In his time the laying of the ghost of One-handed Boughton took place, and the conversation by the marl pit with Sir Francis Skipwith. Sir Edward Boughton died in 1772, leaving a son, Sir Theodosius, whose untimely death, in 1780, was the cause, a few years subsequently, of the demolition, in 1785, of the ancient mansion of Lawford Hall. To the bloody hand of Ulster, then, we may look for the origin of the Legend of Lawford Hall,—a legend I can trace no higher than the middle of the eighteenth century.

A few words by way of postscript. In 1840, the Rev. Roger Bird, an Assistant Master of Rugby School, resigned his mastership, after a service of 20 years. He was granted by the Trustees a Fellowship of £200 per annum. A few years after that he was presented by the late Prince Consort to the living of Lanteglos cum Advent, near Camelford, in the Duchy of Cornwall. Whilst there he was requested by a respectable inhabitant of Camelford, which was within his parish, to lay a ghost with which some mansion was considered to be haunted, and his refusal to do so gave great, very great, offence. This incident took place between 1845—50.

ROADS AND RUNS ROUND RUGBY.

VII. THE NEWBOLD ROAD, THE HARBOROUGH
MAGNA RUN.*

Some 60 years ago, the last house of the town on the road to the river, Newbold-upon-Avon, and Brownsover, was one on the site of that now occupied by Mr. D. Buchanan, an Old Rugbeian famed for his prowess in cricket. The former mansion, on a more moderate scale in its dimensions than the present structure, was, nevertheless, sufficiently comfortable, and at the time I speak of, and for many years previous, was the abode of a former most worthy inhabitant of Rugby. Admiral Chambers was an old and retired naval officer of the Royal Navy, who having spent the early and best years of his life in the service of his country, on his retirement from the Royal Navy settled at Rugby. In the reign of George II., in the eventful year 1759, he was a midshipman in one of our ships of war in the river St. Lawrence, on the taking of Quebec by General Wolfe. Subsequently, having risen in rank, he commanded a flotilla on one of the lakes of Canada during a lengthy service. We find him at Rugby designated as Captain, in the year 1795 entering his three sons at Rugby School, the eldest aged 9, the second 7, and the third 6 years of age. Well known to most, if not all, of the Trustees of Rugby School, and to the county gentry of Warwickshire generally, he was accustomed, on a Sunday evening, in the summer months, to entertain at tea certain of those then at school at Rugby, sons of county gentlemen in Warwickshire by whom he was known, and his hospitable table was amply spread with good and palatable viands. In his latter days I was accustomed to accept his personal invitation—an invitation I should have felt wrong to have refused—to play a quiet rubber of whist at almost infinitesimal points. This was a solace to him when he could no longer see to read in an evening, and to have deprived him of that solace on my part would, it appeared to me, have been most selfish. It is now something for me to say I have enjoyed the conversation and friendship of one who, amid many hardships, served his country faithfully so far back as the reign of George II. He went to his rest upwards of 50 years ago, and no one could have been conveyed to the grave more honoured and respected by his neighbours and all who knew him. After the death of this worthy, the mansion he had resided in was for some years occupied by the Rev. James Buckoll, one of the Masters of Rugby School, as a boarding-house.

A little beyond this house, on the left of the road, stood, years ago, beyond my recollection, a windmill. This was burnt down in the year 1796, one stormy night, by the force of the wind causing the sails to revolve so rapidly as to cause combustion. From hence to the mill was no building save a turnpike gate and house across the road, near the site of the windmill. Along this road passed on

* *Meteor*, No. 197, Dec. 19, 1883.

horseback, in the month of August, 1642, King Charles I., with some lords in company, after the disastrous skirmish which took place between Marton and Long Itchington. He halted not at Rugby,—then a town unfriendly to the Crown,—but sped his way to Nottingham previous to his setting up of the royal standard.

On the 19th of October, 1839, Her late Majesty Adelaide, the Queen Dowager, being then on a visit to the Earl of Denbigh, Her Majesty's Master of the Horse, at Newnham Paddox, came up this road with a *cortège* consisting of three carriages and four, and a carriage and pair with outriders, on a visit to Rugby School. Passing through the quadrangle she entered the great school-room, and from thence proceeded to the chapel, then as it was originally built, and unaltered. On leaving the chapel Her Majesty expressed a wish to witness a match at football, which she did for about 20 minutes. This was the only occasion I am aware of on which the School was visited by royalty. She subsequently returned by the same route—from Rugby through Newbold and Great Harborough, to Newnham Paddox.

Passing under the railway viaduct, on the left of the road, and close to it, was the original Rugby Railway Station, of very small dimensions, removed, I think, to its present site in 1842. But it was here that on one occasion Marshal Soult, the most famous of all the generals of Napoleon, and who in the Peninsular War was pitted against Lord Wellington, stopped to breakfast, on his journey by rail from London into the country on a visit.

Before crossing the bridge over the river, the mill is approached on the right. The present mill is a structure of no great antiquity, having been apparently built some time in the last century; but it is on a site of great antiquity, for in Domesday Book we are informed that at the time of the Norman Survey, some 800 years ago, there was a mill here of the annual value of 13s. 4d. An incident is recorded by Edwards, a Presbyterian Minister, to have occurred here early in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century: this was to the effect that two soldiers came to Rugby, and preached perversely, and baptized women in the mill dam, which, says his informant, was strange to us in these parts.

There was formerly an ancient wooden carriage bridge over the river, west of the mill, consisting of three small arches. This having fallen into decay, was replaced in the year 1787, at the cost of £284, by the present structure, which was a few years ago widened. The amount for rebuilding the bridge was mostly raised by subscription, chiefly by the inhabitants of Rugby. Anciently the reparation of highways and bridges was considered amongst the works of charity, and before the Reformation indulgences were in some instances granted by Bishops to those who contributed towards such charitable purposes. To the reparation of this bridge, and the long foot-bridge over the river between Newbold and Long Lawford, one Richard Fosterd, of Newbold-upon-Avon, in 1558 left some property at Frankton, now vested in trustees, as directed by him for the purposes of his will. A short Latin inscription, commemorative of the donor, is cut on one of the abutments on the west side of the bridge.

Having crossed the bridge, and without diverging to the right on the route to Brownsover, of which on another occasion, the road to Newbold-on-Avon continues for some three furlongs on a level, parallel with a branch of the river, by which, indeed, in continuous rainy weather and boisterous storms, it is not unfrequently flooded. At the end of this piece of road, and inclining somewhat to the right, we gradually ascend, and on the summit of an eminence of no great height, as gradually descend till we reach the lower part of the village of Newbold-on-Avon. Approaching Newbold on the level, we have the river parallel a width of a field from the road, and here there was formerly a fulling mill, indications of which, rather than remains, are still to be seen.

Ascending, somewhat in a curve, the village of Newbold, we approach opposite to the church, which stands in its cemetery a short field distant from the road. This venerable pile, no part of the present structure of which is apparently earlier than the middle of the 15th century, is of no mean interest from the legends and associations connected with it, and the sepulchral monuments it contains. These, the earliest of which dates back only to the early part of the fifteenth century, possess an interest of their own. In the south aisle are sculptured monuments of the sixteenth century of the Boughton family, whilst in the chancel is the erect effigy, by Rysbrack—one of our English sculptors of the early part of the last century, whose works are always to be known by a strict adherence to the costume of the period, rather than by a sentimental and far-fetched idealism—of Sir William Boughton, M.P. for the County of Warwick in the early part of the last century. Raised on high in the chancel are the remains of a funeral achievement, consisting of a helmet and spur, probably coeval with one of those monuments in the south aisle. In connection with this edifice, somewhat more than a century ago, the body of a young baronet was exhumed from the family vault, and opened on a high tomb in the churchyard, on the south side of the church, on suspicion of foul play, afterwards borne out. A famous Old Rugbeian, the late Sir Henry Halford, President of the College of Physicians, was (being at the time a boy at Rugby School) a spectator of the proceedings. I have myself seen and spoken to the sister of Sir Theodosius Boughton, the young baronet thus alluded to. It is but a short time since that the remains of a well-known Old Rugbeian* were consigned to their rest in this churchyard, amidst a numerous body met to commemorate his public services to his country. Westward of the church and churchyard are the remains of earthworks, hardly discernible unless specially pointed out, being the site, as it is supposed, of one of those small castles, hastily erected in the wars between the Empress Maud and King Stephen, and demolished in the reign of Henry II.

* Mr. Charles Marriott Caldecott, of Holbrook Grange.

ROADS AND RUNS ROUND RUGBY.

VIII. THE BROWNSOVER ROAD, THE COTON RUN.*

As far as the road to Rugby bridge over the Avon, by the mill, I have already commented upon in my description of the road to Newbold in the last notice of the Roads and Runs, &c. Passing over the bridge we enter what was anciently a different territory; that is, emerging from the ancient British territory of the tribe of the Dobuni, we enter that of the tribe of the Coritani, the river Avon forming the boundary hereabouts, an important one in former ages, with morasses on either side. Passing over the bridge, a sharp turn to the right conducts us on the road to Brownsover, Lutterworth, and Leicester.

Proceeding a short distance on the road to Brownsover, we pass under the viaduct of the Midland Railway; and just beyond this, on the left, is a short road to the wharf on the banks of the Canal. It was from hence that in the spring of 1820, Henry Grattan, the famous Irish Statesman, and real friend to his country, then in the 74th year of his age, too infirm to travel by carriage (railways were then non-existent), and having had a canal boat fitted up to convey him from Liverpool to London, disembarked for a short period, and was conveyed from hence through Rugby to Hillmorton Wharf, in a Sedan chair belonging to the ladies of Rugby, and lent to him for that purpose.

Passing onwards we proceed beneath the Canal aqueduct by the side of the plantation which skirts the right of the road. In the meadow between here and the river Swift, the late Sir Egerton Leigh, as I have been informed, commenced the erection of a mansion, but before the foundations had proceeded much above ground, the wintry floods filled the cellarage with water, and the design had to be abandoned. We go onwards to a cross road, and turning to the right reach a bridge over a small stream, the river Swift. Into this stream, at Lutterworth, were poured the ashes from the bones of John Wycliffe, burnt 40 years after his death.

Of this proceeding an old author, I think it was Fuller the Church historian, quaintly observes that as his ashes were carried by the Swift into the Avon, by the Avon into the Severn, and thence into the sea, his memory thus attempted to be obscured was spread over the world. The present bridge is apparently of no great antiquity, and was probably constructed when the turnpike road was formed; but there was an old bridge here in the middle of the 16th century, to the mending of which Lawrence Sheriff, Founder of Rugby School in 1567, bequeathed twenty shillings. From this bridge, somewhat to the left, the old road formerly went, crossing the old canal on a bridge still existing. This road passed immediately in front of the former mansion, Brownsover Hall, a plain brick structure of no external pretensions, abutting immediately

* *Meteor*, No. 206, July 29, 1884.

on the road. Some fifty years ago the road was legally converted by the late owner of Brownsover Hall, some distance southward of the old road. In the conversion, some few mediæval relics were brought to light: a broad arrow-head of iron, possibly of the fifteenth century, or earlier; a small dag or pistol of brass, a boy's toy, of the age of Elizabeth or James, deficient of the lock, if it ever had one; a fragment of mediæval pottery, the portion of the handle of some vessel, with the green and yellow glaze; and two small instruments of bone, evidently used for the purpose of marking the fragment of pottery I have described whilst in a moist and ductile state.

On the left of the road are the plantations which bound the south of the grounds attached to Brownsover Hall. The latter is a somewhat pretentious, yet interesting structure, erected by the late Boughton Leigh, Esq., from the designs of the late Sir George Gilbert Scott. This not only excites attention from the external elevations, but the interior, well designed, is replete with paintings, family portraits, one of Garrick, a family piece by Hogarth, portraits of Louis XIV., and others, of the French School; works of art, antiquities, and articles of *vertu*. From the windows are a variety of views of pleasing home scenery. It is a residence in which, indeed, an author might study and compose, without disturbance.

A short distance beyond the entrance into the grounds of Brownsover Hall, turning to the right, we come to the hamlet of Brownsover, consisting of a small hostel, a farm-house, and half-a-dozen cottages. There is in the township another farm-house, and a few more cottages. The population is not great, and hardly vies with that of Birmingham; though 800 years ago, on the compilation of that celebrated survey, Domesday Book, the annual values of Brownsover and Birmingham were on a par—20s. each, and the population of each was about equal.

An old residence here has often been considered and asserted to be the birth-place of Lawrence Sheriff. Such statement is, however, erroneous; not only is the structure itself of a much later period, but there is evidence that the Founder of Rugby School was born at Rugby, in the old School House, opposite the church, the residence of his father and mother.

That Brownsover was a place of great antiquity is evident from the remains of earthworks, though slight, especially near the chapel yard. Other earthworks were visible before the road was altered, in the grounds in front of Brownsover Hall; these were disturbed in the laying out of the grounds; but previous to this alteration I had a plan taken of them. These earthworks were irregular in design, and not well defined. They answered, however, to the British *Oppidum* described by Cæsar. He says:

"Now the Britons when they have fortified the intricate woods in which they were wont to assemble, for the purpose of avoiding the incursion of an enemy, with an entrenchment and a rampart, call it a town."

But it is better to use his own words:

"*Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitundæ causa convenire consuerunt.*"*

* Cæsar, B. G., V. 21.

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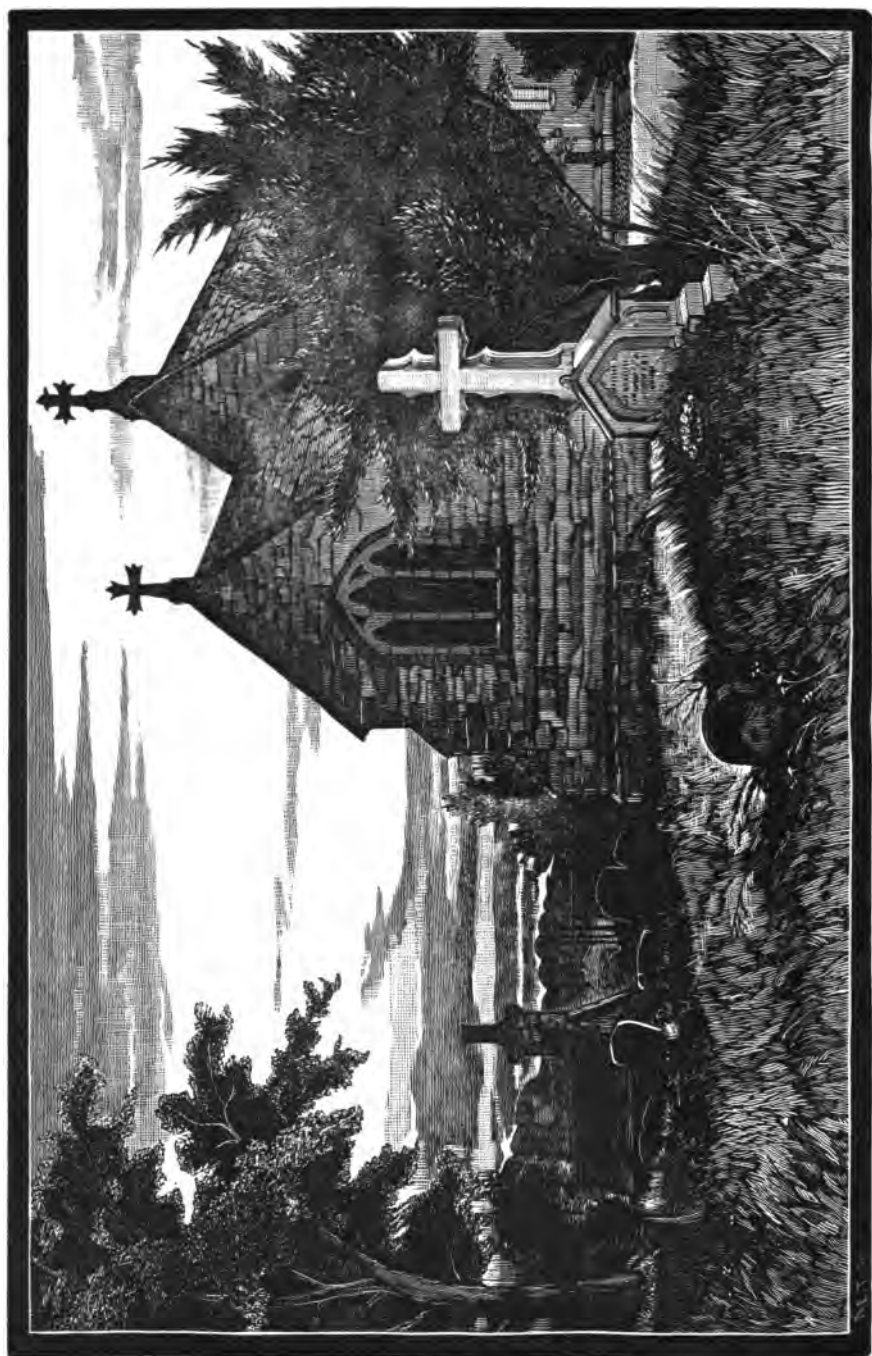
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These works, situate within the ancient British Forest of Arden, with the Avon with its morasses on either side flowing on the south, and the Swift in like manner on the west, constituted, according to my conjecture, a frontier fastness of the ancient British tribe of the Coritani.

Of the chapel here the chancel belongs to Rugby School, the Trustees of which are the Lay Impropiators, or Rectors. The "parsonage" belonging to them, consisting of 36 acres of land, is part of the endowments of Rugby School. This formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, at Leicester. I have been unable to ascertain to whom it was granted by the Crown on the suppression of that conventual establishment, or when, or from whom, it was purchased by Lawrence Sheriff. It was by him originally settled as nearly the sole endowment of Rugby School. The east window of the chapel appears, from its design, to have been inserted by Lawrence Sheriff, in lieu of what was probably a triplet of three lancet lights. It contains some modern painted glass inscribed in memory of Lawrence Sheriff.

But the chapel yard or cemetery-garth is of far greater antiquity than the chapel. Upwards of sixty years ago I was informed of certain ancient British interments having been discovered here, of the *débris* of bodies, with the legs gathered up; and in the recent restoration of the chapel, beneath the foundation of the north wall of the nave, a thick plank was discovered beneath which was a human skull; more recently a Roman cinerary urn was here discovered. In the north-eastern portion of this cemetery, a yew tree has been recently planted; a little to the east of this a spot has been fixed upon, if it may be, for a narrow cell, the last bed of rest of an antiquary, from its surroundings no inappropriate site.

The Lordship of Brownsover contains 850 acres. Of these 36 are Rectorial, the remainder belong, subject to vicarial payments of some £16 per annum, to the Squire of Brownsover Hall. The Boughton family have indeed been possessors of this Lordship for the last 400 years, and the present Lord of the Manor has not degenerated from a long line of ancestry, in obtaining the hearty good wishes and deep-felt respect of his neighbours.

Passing the boundaries of this Lordship, and advancing on the way to Lutterworth, about a mile from Brownsover, in a field on the right, and about three furlongs from the road, is a truncated or half-finished tumulus or barrow, of ancient British formation. Proceeding onwards to the plantations of Coton House, we pass a field on the right adjoining the plantations; the corner of this field is called Dead Man's Corner, from a murder upwards of two hundred years ago. The murdered man was buried at Lutterworth, and in the churchyard, east of the chancel, is a headstone of slate, inscribed as follows:—

"In memory of William Banbury, killed by robbers upon Over heath, November 25th, 1676."

Of the gibbeting of one of his murderers I shall speak when we have reached the spot where it took place. On passing by the plantations of Coton House, which skirt the road for some distance

on the right, we may discern another ancient British tumulus or barrow. This was partially opened by myself many years ago, leave having been obtained for that purpose; but the labourers employed missed the deposit, and a few fragments only of ancient pottery were found. Passing through the grounds of Coton House, we arrive near to that mansion at the site of the ancient Grange of the Monks of Combe, who had much land hereabouts. This site, like that of the Grange of the Monks of Pipewell, in the middle of the School Close at Rugby, was formerly moated; some small portion of the moat still remains. On leaving the spot, we return to the high road leading to Lutterworth, and continue on till we come to the Watling Street; and here I proceed no further. At this crossing of the road was formerly an ancient British tumulus of that magnitude that it put passengers beside the usual road.

In the Middle Ages this tumulus was called "Pilgrim's Lowe," at a later period "Gibbet Hill" or "Loseby's Gibbet," for here it was that the body of one of the murderers of William Banbury was gibbeted after his execution. This tumulus was removed when the turnpike road from Daventry to Lutterworth was made. If from this spot we diverge to the right, in about a mile we reach Cave's Inn, the site of the ancient Roman Station Tripontium. Along the Watling Street Road, on the left, and between this spot and Bensford Bridge, on the road being repaired in 1824, a cemetery of some tribe of the Anglo-Saxons was discovered; with the males were found spear heads, bosses of shields, and knives, all of iron; with the females a variety of fibulæ or brooches of bronze, clasps of silver, beads, and other articles pertaining to female attire, were discovered. One sword of iron, one sepulchral urn, with the usual Anglo-Saxon ornamentation, and some rude drinking cups of fictile ware, were also discovered.

And now, having finished the series, I must conclude my observations on "The Roads and Runs round Rugby," carried on by me intermittently during the last three years and upwards, and my task I quit with regret.

LUTTERWORTH CHURCH AND ITS FAMOUS RECTOR, JOHN WYCLIFFE.*

In that trite and well-known passage of the Roman philosopher, the *Movetur nescio quo pacto*, &c., where he treats of the indescribable emotions of the mind in those localities endeared to us by the remembrance of celebrated men, we feel the force of his remarks. We muse in silent contemplation of those of other days, on whom our admiration is fixed. We gaze, not without emotion, on any relic of the past connected with them. The spots where

* Kenning's *Family Almanack*, Rugby, 1880; being a Paper read before the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society at Lutterworth, September 26, 1861.

they dwelt, where they laboured, their last resting-places, we regard with more than the natural eye. We make pilgrimages to many places simply from the associations attached to them, and in these days of rapid locomotion we pass hurriedly by, yet within sight of, others we cannot stop to examine.

I cannot readily forget the first time I passed by Corbie, a small town near the railway on the road from Amiens to Douai, how I looked out, first on one side, then on the other, for a glimpse of the towers of the church—how at last between the trees and across the glade I caught a momentary glance of the object I was looking for, and then all disappeared from sight.

A few years afterwards I made my pilgrimage thither. No stately buildings drew my attention; for of the once great and celebrated Benedictine Abbey, founded at this place, a small portion only of the Church remains. The Conventual buildings, with scarcely an exception, had been destroyed; some portion immediately antecedent to my visit. It was, then, the associations of the place which carried me there. The remembrance of two of old time, Paschasius Radbertus, who raised or originated the great religious controversy of the ninth century, and whose opinions were opposed by Bertramus, perhaps better known to us as Bertram the Priest, both monks at the same time of this once famous and royal Abbey of Corbie.

Would the ruins or site of the ancient Abbey of Clairvaux in France, connected in our minds with St. Bernard, the great reformer of monastic discipline in the twelfth century, and the great religious writer of his age, be by us passed by unheeded and unnoticed?

Does not Salisbury call to our remembrance Jewell, the author of "The Apology," and of "The Defence of the Apology of the Church of England"; Louvain, in Belgium, his great opponent, Harding, and, at a later period, Jansenius; Bishopsbourne, in Kent, Hooker, whose "animated bust," his "vera effigies," graces the wall of that hallowed church, in which the remains of him, not to be forgotten, are buried? *In memoria eterna erit justus.*

But to go no further than your own county. Do we not connect Thurcaston with Latimer; Ibstock with Laud; Drayton with George Fox; and last, not least, Lutterworth with Wycliffe?

We indeed find in this town no ancient remains of domestic architecture of the fourteenth century, not even of the hospital founded in the reign of King John, to carry us back to the time of Wycliffe, who, born as it is said in 1324, was incumbent of this parish during the last ten years of his life, from 1374 to 1384, during the latter part of the reign of Edward III. and early part of that of Richard II. Wycliffe died at this place, and was here buried.

The Church of Lutterworth is, then, the only structure now remaining coeval with his time. Whatever may have been the structure of the original church at Lutterworth—one, I think, of not very high antiquity; but architectural fragments of which, in all probability, lie concealed in the foundations of the present walls—it is enough for us to know, from an examination of its present

architectural features, that the shell of the present structure, at least of the tower, nave, and aisles, was built in the fourteenth century, during the life, but before the incumbency of Wycliffe, and probably some time between the years 1330 and 1360. The tower, with a belfry staircase projecting at the north-west angle, which has been on the exterior much disfigured by compo, had formerly a lofty spire, destroyed by tempest in 1703. The upper stage of the tower was rebuilt in the tasteless pseudo-Gothic style of the early part of the eighteenth century. The nave is divided from the aisles on each side by a range of four double-faced pointed arches, with chamfered edges and hood-mouldings over, which latter give great relief. These arches spring from plain octagonal piers, with moulded caps. The south wall of the south aisle contains five windows, three of them of two lights each, with flowing tracery in the head; the other two of two lights each, with rich flowing tracery in the head of one, whilst the mullions of the other simply cross in the head. All these windows have hood-mouldings over, without which they would look bare of relief. The south porch is modern. At the south-east corner of this aisle is a diagonal buttress, containing a niche for an image. The east window of this aisle is a somewhat rich specimen of a Decorated window, containing four principal lights and flowing foiled tracery in the head. The west window of this aisle is of the same period.

The north aisle contains in the north wall three windows of two lights each, with tracery in the head and hood-mouldings, over a plain pointed doorway with a hood-moulding over, of the fourteenth century, a west window of the same period, and a well-designed east window of three lights, with flowing tracery in the head. These are all the architectural features I can confidently pronounce to be anterior to the age of Wycliffe, and in existence during his incumbency. For the age of the chancel is somewhat doubtful, whether it be of, or subsequent to, Wycliffe's time. The little circular trefoil-headed doorway in the south aisle was, I think, in existence during his incumbency. Of the windows I am not sure; from the disposition and angular character of the tracery, differing from the flowing lines of an earlier period, I should assign these features to the early part of the fifteenth century, which would be subsequent to the age of Wycliffe.

The east window has been very injudiciously blocked up. But the five principal vertical lights were subdivided by panel work. This window has a hood-moulding over, and above this is a stone escutcheon or shield bearing the arms of Ferrers, Gules, seven mascles voided, or. On either side of the chancel door is a window with three principal lights with angular tracery in the head. In the north wall of the chancel are windows similar to those in the south wall, and in the north wall of the north aisle, near the east end, over a sepulchral recess, the masonry of which projects externally, is a window with tracery similar to that of the windows in the chancel; by which I should imagine that the chancel was built by the person whose recumbent effigy, with that of his lady, lies within this sepulchral recess, on a high tomb in the north aisle.

And now, as to the interior of the church. The original high-

pitched roof of the nave appears to have been removed in the fifteenth century, the walls on which it rested carried up, and the clerestory windows, five on each side, obtusely arched, of three lights each, and cinquefoiled in the heads, added. The present roof of the nave, of a more obtuse or depressed pitch than the original roof, is a good specimen of the wooden roof of the fifteenth century, and now constitutes one of the most interesting architectural features in the church.

It is divided into five bays by tie-beams, supported by upright wall pieces, from which spring curved braces, the spandrels between which and the tie-beams are filled with open panel work, whilst a kind of embattled crest runs along the upper edge of the tie-beam. Between the tie-beams each bay is subdivided by moulded purlins and common rafters, also moulded.

The chancel arch is of the fifteenth century, and the piers or responds from which the arch springs, as also the soffit of the arch, are panelled—an unusual architectural feature in this part of the country, though common enough in Somersetshire, and some others of the south-western counties.

The chancel roof is plain and depressed, and was probably constructed in the latter part of the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century. It is divided into three bays with moulded wall-plates, purlins, and rafters.

Of the present internal fittings of the church and their arrangement, it is impossible to speak in any—the slightest—terms of commendation.

The simple yet graceful and ornate architectural features, which the fittings of Wycliffe's and of the succeeding age presented, appear about a century ago to have been ruthlessly swept away, and the present tasteless and miserable arrangement of boxes or pews made, as Fuller quaintly says, "high and easy for folk to sit or sleep in," and "worthy of reformation," was adopted. For "the church was beautified in 1761, with a costly pavement of chequered stone, new pews of oak, and everything else new, both in church and chancel, except the pulpit."

The pulpit was removed from its ancient and appropriate position in the north aisle, about a quarter of a century ago, and set up in the centre of the nave, with clerk's desk and reading pew massed together like a huge graduated excrescence. At the same time, I suppose, the galleries were constructed. With these alterations the church has been knocked about, and is now in a state of semi-dilapidation, whilst the west end of the church has been parted off for vestries and receptacles for rubbish, the walls of the chancel panelled round in 1761, where they should not have been, hiding most probably features of architectural interest, perhaps the very stone seat or *sedile* occupied by Wycliffe. What a slur upon his memory!

The proper restoration of this church is simply a work of time, whether it be effected in the present or next generation. Wycliffe, in his age, as a Church Reformer, led the van. Will you, in this age of church restoration, be content to follow in the wake? The high pews and galleries will come down, and the pulpit be removed from its present unsightly position. We have but to walk across

the fields to Misterton, barely a mile distant, to see the effects of such a change. Compare the two churches together : " Look here upon this picture and on that."

I must now draw your attention to the monument, or high tomb, in the recess in the north wall of the north aisle near the east end, with the two recumbent effigies thereon. The tomb itself is hid from sight by one of those unseemly high pews I have described. It is, however, engraved in outline in Nichols' *Leicestershire*, and, as far as I can judge from the representation there given, is a monument of about the middle of the fifteenth century. It certainly is not the monument of William Feilding and Jane Prudhomme, his wife, to whom Nichols assigns it, for he flourished in the reign of Edward III., though I find he was alive in the early part of the reign of Richard II., A.D. 1380. Of whom it is the monument is yet a matter of conjecture. There are, however, two families, to one of whom this monument is likely to belong, namely, to one of the Feilding family, Sir John Feilding, Knight, son of William Feilding and Jane Prudhomme, and who married Margaret Purefoy. I know not when they died, or where they were buried ; but as they were the father and mother of Sir William Feilding, Knight, who was slain at the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1470, and was there buried, they probably died about the middle of the fifteenth century, with which date the monument would agree.

Or it might be a monument of one of the Ferrers' family, anciently lords of this manor, and patrons of the advowson of the church ; and if so, I should assign it to Sir William Ferrers, of Groby, who, in 1414, obtained a grant of a market and fair to Lutterworth, and who died in 1444, and to his lady. To this worthy knight and benefactor of Lutterworth I would ascribe the rebuilding of the chancel early in the fifteenth century, as the arms of Ferrers over the east window of the chancel would imply, probably at or about the same period as the grant of the market and fair was obtained ; and as the window over this monument is an insertion made when the chancel was rebuilt, and in the style of the windows of the chancel, such fact is in favour of the assumption that this was the tomb of a Ferrers. Yet it is in what is called the Feilding aisle, and the claims of both families are, in my mind, conflicting. Perhaps someone more interested in and connected with Lutterworth than I am, may work out this interesting problem.

The effigies on this tomb are of alabaster, and represent an esquire or knight, for there is no distinctive mark of cognizance between them, and his lady. He appears bareheaded, with short-cropped hair, and face closely shaven, attired in a long gown or coat, belted round the waist and buckled in front. The sleeves of the gown are wide and loose, and it appears to be worn over armour, of which the vambraces, coverings for the lower arm, and coudes or elbow plates, and broad or square-toed solerets, with which the feet are covered, are visible. The hands are bare, and conjoined on the breast in attitude of prayer, and the feet rest against some animal, now much mutilated. The head reposes on a double cushion, supported by angels, the heads of which have been destroyed. There is a peculiarity about this effigy I have

not met with in any other; that is, it appears to have over the defensive armour not a surcoat, or a cyclas, or a jupon, or a tabard, but the civilian or layman's gown or coat of the period I suppose it to be, namely, of about the middle of the fifteenth century, or perhaps later.

The lady is represented cumbent on the left of her husband, clad in a long loose gown, with a mantle over, fastened across the breast by a cordon with pendant tassels, the cordon being affixed on either side to a lozenge-shaped fermail. The sleeves of the gown are full, but drawn up and cuffed at the wrists; the veiled head-dress is worn, and the head reposes on a double cushion supported by angels. The period to which this monument may be fairly assigned is some time in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The costume of both effigies may be fairly ascribed to that period.

There have been, and are, some monumental brasses in the church. Most of them have disappeared, but none of them appear to have been of earlier date than the fifteenth century.

Much painted glass formerly existed in this church, especially in shields, containing the armorial bearings of the Feildings, Ferrers, and others. At present not a single fragment of these ancient memorials of benefactors to this church is to be found; all have been ruthlessly swept away.

This church contains a variety of articles which for years past—I know not how many—have been regarded as relics of Wycliffe. These are the pulpit in which he is said to have preached, his arm chair, his table, his altar candlesticks, a portion of his gown, and his portrait—a copy of that in the possession of the Earl of Denbigh, painted by a Mr. Feilding, and presented by him to the parish in 1786. The original of this portrait is, by the kind permission of that noble earl, with other interesting portraits from his valuable collection, and for which we ought and must all feel deeply indebted to him, now in your local museum.

Now this is a critical age, and we naturally inquire whether these relics are genuine? Is a single one of them of Wycliffe's era? I should have been deeply pleased could I have met with a single article which I could ascribe to his age; but, with the exception of the shell of the tower, substructure of the nave, and aisles, I can find no single article of furniture or fittings of his time. To take them *seriatim*: the chair and table are so palpably articles of furniture of the seventeenth century that the veriest tyro in archæological lore would never think of assigning them to an earlier period. Not so the pulpit; but is this of Wycliffe's age? Certainly not. When the chancel was rebuilt in the early part of the fifteenth century, or when in that century the clerestory was added to the nave, and the present roof placed thereon, the church was seated with open benches, probably like those in Misterton Church or in Claybrook Church. The chancel screen, rich and costly, was at that time constructed, as was also the pulpit.

Fragments of the chancel screen, or what I presume to have been such, are worked up at the back of the organ loft, nearly hidden from view. The architectural details of this screen, as well as of

the pulpit, are clearly those of the fifteenth century. In fact, I do not know a single church in the kingdom which contains an original wooden pulpit of the fourteenth century, as this has been supposed to be, and the few stone pulpits we have of that age, or earlier, exist in the yet remaining or ruined refectories of conventual foundations.

The sounding board to the pulpit, now in the vestry, is an addition of the seventeenth century, about two hundred years old.

Then, as to the very curious fluted altar candlesticks of wood, and gilt : both rare and curious they are, but not of the age of Wycliffe ; for they are a pair of altar candlesticks of the early part of the seventeenth century, or time of Charles I. At the Reformation, when lights were generally abolished from our churches, the two on the communion table or high altar, as it was called, were retained for the express signification that Christ is the very true Light of the world ; and these continued till the Puritan party of the House of Commons, in 1643, passed an ordinance for the removal of altar candlesticks from our churches. In the general destruction these appear to have escaped ; and as historical relics, I hope they may long continue to be taken care of. If not unique, they are the only pair of wooden candlesticks of that period I have found remaining.

Then there is a portion of a vestment, kept with such great care and reverence in a glass case, never to be opened, and like the blood of St. Januarius, to be looked at but not examined. For we judge of it under great disadvantages from its partial concealment. Now if this fragment is that of a vestment, there were only two vestments, or service habits of the Church of Rome, to which it could belong—viz., the cope and the chasuble. The latter would be the vestment worn by Wycliffe every time he officiated as priest at the celebration of the Eucharistic Office, the former only in choral services and in processions. Now the cope had sometimes orphreys down the sides in front, in which figures of saints were sometimes worked ; but not those of angels ; and I never knew an instance of a chasuble worked as this fragment is. My own opinion, and I cannot sufficiently examine the fragment to be positive, is, that it is the portion of an altar frontal of the fifteenth century, some of which are still preserved in our churches, the angel not being represented, as it would have been in the preceding century, or time of Wycliffe. Having thus expressed my opinion, formed under a very partial examination, I am content to leave this point for the future criticisms of others.

Lastly, as to the portrait. Is that not of Wycliffe, that venerable-bearded old man ? Alas ! I am afraid I must attempt to dissipate all preconceived and cherished notions which have long prevailed respecting it.

Wycliffe, as a priest of the Church before the Reformation, was required by the discipline of the Church to be close shaven, both as to his chin and his cheeks ; and if you examine the brasses and sculptured monumental effigies of the fourteenth century, of priests in this country, which are numerous, you will not find one represented in the manner portrayed by this portrait. Again, the cap,

the costume, the gown, the ruff encircling the wrist, as represented in this portrait, are, together with the long beard, semblances of the costume and appearance of one of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, when the fashion of letting the beard grow among the reformed clergy crept in. This painting is clearly of that period, and the date of it I should fix as somewhere between 1540 and 1570. As to its being a realistic portrait of Wycliffe or of his age, it certainly is not. It may be an ideal portrait of him in the costume and appearance prevalent in an age at least a century and a half after his death. There is, or was forty years ago, a portrait somewhat similar to this in the collection of the then Duke of Dorset, at Knole, in Kent, bearing also the name of Wycliffe. Whether it remains there still I know not.

Now I can show you a much more realistic portrait, as to costume and general appearance, than that this painting represents. It exhibits a priest of Wycliffe's time vested for the service of the church—namely, in the alb, stole, maniple, and chasuble. When not so vested his ordinary clerical habit would have been a long cassock, or coat, the *toga talaris*, with a hood, the *caputium*, attached to it, and hanging down behind.

Is there, then, no relic of Wycliffe's time? Yes, there was one disposed of lately in London, and I could have wished it had been secured for the Church of Lutterworth. Why we reverence the memory of Wycliffe is not so much on account of his theological opinions—on many of which grave differences might arise, but from his translation of the Holy Scriptures, or at least portions of them, into the vernacular, the language of Chaucer and the author of *Piers Plowman*.

Now in the late sad dispersion, which ought never to have taken place, of the library of Archbishop Tenison, on the first of July last, amongst the MSS. was one of the fourteenth century, containing portions of certain books of the Old Testament translated by John Wycliffe, whether in his monograph, which I think not unlikely, or simply a transcript made in his time, I cannot say. It was a small folio volume, and, though fragmental, was purchased in public competition by a well-known London bookseller, Mr. Lilly, for £150.

I have now trespassed upon your patience more than I ought to have done, and my remarks may not have been so palatable as I would have wished; but it is the province of the antiquary "to search out truth," whether "in academic groves," or amid objects of long cherished interest presented to his notice.

ON SOME DISCOVERIES MADE IN THE PROGRESS OF THE RESTORATION OF LUTTERWORTH CHURCH.*

Some sixteen years ago, during a temporary sojourn at Brussels, I was induced, through a notice in one of the guide books, to

* Kenning's *Family Almanack*, Rugby, 1880; being a Paper read before the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, at Kegworth, August 26, 1868.

pay a visit to Hal, a village a few miles south of Brussels, where there was a railway station. Hal was a position where a considerable force—part of the Duke of Wellington's army—was, as a precautionary measure, stationed before and at the time of the battle of Waterloo, to prevent any sudden surprise by Napoleon, and to cover Brussels on that side. My journey thither was not, however, to make any military *reconnaissance*; it was to visit, and, if possible, to examine the so-called miraculous image of Our Lady of Hal. In different particular churches on the Continent there are now, as there were formerly in this country, certain reputed miraculous images. Such is the miraculous image of the Crucifix in the Cathedral at Amiens, one of the most ancient images that I have met with on the Continent, and which may, I think, from the manner in which it is represented as draped, be ascribed to the early part of the thirteenth century. I was anxious, as an antiquary, to examine that at Hal, with reference to its antiquity, and, on my arrival at the station, I at once wended my way to the church. I found no difficulty in obtaining access, for, with the exception of an hour or two in the middle of the day, the churches on the Continent are, as a general rule, open from an early hour in the morning until evening. I was, however, disappointed with regard to an examination of the image. I found it an impossibility. I had carefully examined the image of St. Ann, not one of the so-called miraculous images, in the little chapel of the Chateau of Hougoumont, the chateau so fiercely attacked, so vigorously and successfully defended during one of the great decisive battles of the world; and I had found it to be no comparatively modern image of the seventeenth century, but from the costume in which it was represented, an image evidently carved in the fifteenth century. Of the antiquity of that at Hal, I could form no opinion; it was so entirely dressed up and concealed by modern robes, seemingly costly, made to take off and put on, that a small portion of the face only was visible, and no satisfactory criterion as to its age could be arrived at. So it was a few years ago with regard to the church at Lutterworth, of which Wycliffe was once Rector. Almost everything that could carry us back to his time, was, if not obliterated, at least concealed by the tasteless fittings of the middle of the last century, when in 1761 the church was *beautified*.

The Church of Lutterworth consists of a tower, nave, north and south aisles, and chancel. To the latter an addition has been made on the north side during the present restoration, by a prolongation eastward of the north aisle. The walls of the chancel were, previous to the restoration, covered with plaster or rough cast. On removing this the masonry was discovered to be rubble: that is, of boulders or pebble stones from the drift, intermixed with small fragments of Barnack, Weldon, Ketton, Attleborough, and Coventry stone. The present chancel appears to have been erected in the thirteenth century, probably on the site of a more ancient edifice; no remains of this have as yet been disclosed to view. In the east wall of the chancel were two lancet windows divided by a buttress. These were destroyed about the close of the fourteenth century, either during the incumbency of Wycliffe, or soon after,

by the insertion of the present east window. Remains of Early English work, as the priest's doorway and a lancet window, both of which have been restored, were found in the south wall of the chancel. The other windows of the chancel of the Decorated style appear to have been inserted about the middle of the fourteenth century, a few years earlier than the incumbency of Wycliffe.

But it is in the interior of the church that the change must be noticed. In taking down the modern woodwork, with which the walls of the chancel were covered to the height of some feet, an Early English piscina was discovered, the *fenestella* or recessed niche of which is trefoil-headed; the niche contains the usual stone basin, with its perforated drain. The discovery of this piscina might have been expected. Within this piscina the hands of Wycliffe must often have been, either while washing his hands previous to the consecration of the mystical elements, or in the ablution of the chalice after the reception. In the north wall of the chancel was at the same time, and as might also have been expected, discovered a square aumbry or cupboard, used for the purpose of keeping the sacramental vessels. This, no doubt, had originally a wooden door and lock to fasten it, but no traces of this door are now apparent. In this aumbry Wycliffe's hands must also often have been. The arch dividing the chancel from the nave is later than the time of Wycliffe, namely, of the fifteenth century, the soffit and jambs being panelled. On the north side of this arch is a perforation of the same period through the thickness of the walls, called, in modern phrase, a hagioscope. This perforation enabled those in that part of the church to see the high altar, and make the accustomed reverence on the elevation by the priest of the Host thereat. At the east end of the south aisle was a chapel, divided from the nave and western parts of the aisle by parcloles of screen work. Here, beneath the east window, was an altar, and here still exists, as it did in the days of Wycliffe, a decorated *fenestella*, or ogee-headed niche, within which was the perforated basin forming the piscina for the same uses as that in the chancel. Here the hands of Wycliffe must also oft have been whilst officiating at the small altar here placed. Lutterworth Church appears, like most of the churches in Leicestershire, to have undergone great alterations in the fourteenth century, shortly before Wycliffe was presented to the rectory. On the south wall of the south aisle fresco paintings of the fourteenth century have, in the recent operations, been discovered. On these the eyes of Wycliffe must often have rested, as they are of a date prior to his time. These paintings, executed in the style prevalent in the middle of the fourteenth century, represent the figure of a king, vested in a green tunic, with close-fitting sleeves. Over this is worn a scarlet-coloured mantle, fastened in front of the breast by a lozenge-shaped morse. On the head is worn a crown, the hair is wavy, and the neck is bare. On the right hand is a glove, and in it is borne a sceptre, headed with a finial. There is also a figure of a lady (perhaps that of a queen) in a close-fitting gown of red, with close sleeves, and a green mantle over; the hands are bare. Then,

again, there is the figure of a king crowned, with the moustache over the upper lip, and long beard; the neck is bare. The dress consists of a green tunic, with close-fitting sleeves, and a scarlet mantle over, fastened by a lozenge-shaped morse. On the left hand is a glove, on which a hawk (a symbol of rank) is perched. I have no conjecture to offer as to these figures; they seem not to represent any historical event, but mere portraits. The first may be that of Edward II., and the last that of Edward III. As existing in the time of Wycliffe, they are well worthy of being preserved. Through the kindness of Mr. Morgan, the intelligent clerk of the works, I am enabled to exhibit to you *fac simile* representations, of full size, of these paintings, together with tracings, full size, of the ornamental accessories in fresco, which have been discovered on the walls, and with which they were once covered over. A roundell of painted glass preserved in the church, represents a lion's head, and from the peculiarity of design may be attributed to the fourteenth century. Fragments of encaustic tiles, some of them very interesting, two of them representing the lower portion of a man's body, in his tunic and hose—specimens, undoubtedly, of the fourteenth century—were also discovered. Of these I am able to exhibit traces made by Mr. Morgan, and by him kindly lent to me for the purpose.

The two interesting sepulchral recumbent effigies on a high tomb under an arch in the north wall of the north aisle were obliged for the nonce to be removed: they will be carefully restored to their proper place. Their temporary removal has enabled them to be more carefully examined. The one is the effigy of a man represented bareheaded, with the hair clubbed in the fashion prevalent in the reign of Henry VII. The head rests upon a cushion, and round the neck is worn a plain collar or gorget of plate armour. The dress is partly that of a civilian; a long tunic or gown belted about the waist, and bordered and purfled on each side with fur, with short and loose sleeves, discloses the elbows and lower arms encased in plate armour, viz., coudes and vambraces. On the left side the lower portion of the sword only remains; the sword belt from which this depended is arranged diagonally, crossing from the right hip to the left thigh. The feet rest against some animal, apparently a lion. The intermixture, as in this case, of civil costume with armour, is exceedingly curious and rare. The effigy of the lady represents her in a veiled head-dress, in a gown with a mantle over, the mantle being fastened by a cordon affixed on each side to a lozenge-shaped fermail, and hanging down in front, terminating in a tassel. By the side of this effigy hangs a string of beads—“*Par precum*,” as in ancient wills they were called.

Having thus described the present appearance of the interior of Lutterworth Church, I would fain convey to you an ideal representation of the arrangements of the interior as it was, in all probability, in Wycliffe's time. In so doing, I have to discriminate between that and a subsequent age, when the arrangement would be somewhat different, and the fittings and furniture more numerous. In the fourteenth century the body of the church, the nave, and aisles, with the exception of the east end of the south aisle, would

be open and devoid of sittings. At or near the south door would be a stone basin, the stoup, containing hallowed water for the sprinkling; and near the door would be the font, with its cover secured by lock and key, except during the performance of the baptismal rite. At the east end of the south aisle, separated from the nave and western portion of the aisle by parclose or screens of timber work, closed in below by panel work, with open work above, divided by small annulated shafts supporting a moulded rail or cornice, a small chapel would be formed, containing a small stone altar, marked at the angles and in the middle with five incised crosses. On this a cross or image of the Crucified would be placed, with a candlestick and taper on either side. In the south wall, near to the altar, would be the piscina, the only one of the above appurtenances now remaining. This chapel was for the performance of private mass, of which service, and how and when it originated, Bishop Jewel treats at length in "The Defence of the Apology of the Church of England," and in which there is a singular allusion to chapels at the end of aisles: "And even such be their private masses, for the most part said in side aisles alone without company of people, only with a boy to make answer," the boy alluded to serving as the acolyte. Between the nave and chancel, and beneath the old chancel arch—for, as I have said, the present chancel arch is posterior to Wycliffe's time—the same kind of parclose or screen of timber as those dividing the chapel in the south aisle, would form the division. On the beam surmounting this would be placed the carved image of the Crucified, with the image of the Virgin Mary on the one side, and the image of St. John the Evangelist and beloved disciple on the other. At the east end of the chancel, on an elevated platform with an ascent of three steps, would be placed the high altar of stone, bearing five crosses incised upon it. On this altar would stand a cross or crucifix, with a candlestick and wax taper on each side. Here also were set during the celebration of the Eucharistic rite, taken from the aumbry or cupboard lately discovered on the north side of the chancel, the chalice and paten, and the pax. The service was that of the ancient English ordinal, according to the use of Sarum, but in Latin. A translation of it is given in that well-known work, "Foxe's Book of Martyrs." The use of the piscina in the south wall of the chancel I have already adverted to. Contrary to the usual custom, the sedile or seat for the officiating priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, and to which they at certain portions of the service retired, must, I think, have been of wood, as no traces of a stone sedile or sedilia are apparent. There was, I think, at this period no rood-loft, no pulpit, no seats in the middle of the church. In the greater number of our churches these accessories were introduced in the following century. The windows in the aisle and those in the south wall of the chancel were filled with painted glass, mostly of shields charged with the armorial bearings of families connected with the parish. Of these, Burton, the historian of this county, has left us a long list. The walls were not whitewashed, but decorated with paintings in fresco, traces of which, executed anterior to the time of Wycliffe, were discovered in the progress of the present restoration. These will, it is to be

hoped, be carefully preserved as real relics of the age of Wycliffe. And here I must give credit for the skill and conservative spirit in which the present work of restoration has been commenced and carried on. To speak of the architect, Mr. George Gilbert Scott, not only of English, but of European fame, would be superfluous. To his very intelligent and excellent clerk of the works, Mr. Morgan, to whom I am deeply indebted for his loan of tracings from the fresco paintings, which I now exhibit, every praise must be given. Nor should I omit to mention the churchwardens of Lutterworth, of whom one is my worthy friend, Mr. Footman, whose hospitality on my visits to Lutterworth I have more than once experienced. There are others at Lutterworth whose names I am unable to enumerate, who have considered the restoration of this church not merely of local, but of national interest. To their exertions and to their liberal contributions, I may be permitted to add there is ample room for those of others, and that the funds already collected are inadequate for the completion of the restoration as it should be. To those who regard Wycliffe as a promulgator of Holy Writ, as having rendered the Vulgate of Jerome into the vernacular, this appeal may fairly be made. On his numerous theological and polemical works, I leave for scholars to descant. A list of such as have been edited and published is given in "Lowndes' Bibliographers' Manual." One of these, at least, appears to have been written at Lutterworth, *Wycklyffes Wycket whyche he made in Kynge Rycards days*. Apart from his doctrinal views, on which opinions may differ, as a translator of the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, to be understood of the people, his name will ever be held in remembrance.

THE END.

